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AUTHOR Brinton, Victoria
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ABSTRACT

This unit is intended to provide high school students with a general knowledge of the history and culture of India. Lessons include: (1) "Early India"; (2) "Indian Civilization 1500 BC - 500 AD: Hinduism"; (3) "Buddhism"; (4) "Indian Empires"; (5) "Indian Empires, Continued"; (6) "Imperialism"; and (7) "Independence and Modern India." Suggestions for students projects are included. Slides, lectures, and discussions are used extensively in the unit. (EH)

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Rosalie Gendimenico

by

Victoria Brinton

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Curriculum Project

General Survey Unit for World Civilization Course

Fulbright Seminar
1997

Victoria Brinton

India
General Historical Survey Course
World Civilizations

General Objective: To provide high school students with a general knowledge of the history and culture of India,

Text: Any survey course text will work. It is recommended that if the text scatters the history of India throughout the text, that all the pertinent chapters be grouped together for one unit on India - Past to Present.

Lesson One: Early India
Objective: Students will learn of the earliest recorded civilization in the Indian Sub-Continent

Vocabulary Words: monsoon Harappan civilization

Map Assignment: Label the following:

Himalayas
Hindu Kush
Deccan Plateau
Vendhya Hills
Ghats (Western and Eastern)
Indus River
Ganges River
Brahmaputra River
Harappa
Mohenjo-Daro

Lesson:
Needed materials: blank map, overhead of map, slides of Harappan ruins, seals, toys, jewelry

Slide Lecture/Discussion
Discuss the Harappan /Mohenjo-Daro culture showing slides of various artifacts.

Discussion questions:
What was unique about these cities?
What can we learn about them from the artifacts they have left behind?
What might have happened to the cities?

Fill in the map

Lesson Two Indian Civilization 1500 BC-500 AD: Hinduism

Objective: (1) to explain the impact of the Aryan conquerors on India; (2) to attain a basic familiarity with Hinduism

Vocabulary

Aryans	Varnasi	Jati
rajah	Kshatriyas	dharma
Sanskrit	Vaisyas	*Mahabharata*
Epics	Sudras	*Bhagavad Gita*
Vedas	Pariahs	*Ramayana*
Karma	Ahimsa	*Upanishads*
moksha		

Lesson:

Needed materials: slides or pictures of Indian people, cattle, Hindu gods, temples, people at religious practices, overhead of Aryan social structure (See Supplement comment #1)

Slide Lecture/Discussion:

Who were the Aryans? How did they live? How did they govern?
Why were cattle so important? other animals? This respect lead to what?
Compare the life of men to women in the early culture.
What are the *Vedas* and why are they so important to historians?
Diagram the Varna social system. Identify the name and function of each class. Why were each of the classes important to society?
Give an example of dharma.
What is the central theme of *Mahabharata* ?
What is the central theme of *Ramayana* ?
What is Karma? ahimsa?
What is the foundation on Hinduism? How are all the above concepts part of Hinduism?
Compare Moksha with Western religions concepts of an afterlife.

Hinduism

{hin'-doo-izm}

Hinduism, one of the great religions of the world, is the major religion of India, where nearly 85 percent of the population is classified as Hindu. Hinduism has developed over about 4,000 years and has no single founder or creed; rather, it consists of a vast variety of beliefs and practices. Organization is minimal and hierarchy nonexistent. In its diversity, Hinduism hardly fits most Western definitions of religion; rather, it suggests commitment to or respect for an ideal way of life, known as DHARMA.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Caste System

The ideal way of life is sometimes referred to in classical sources and by Hindus as the "duties of one's class and station" (varnasramadharma). The term "class" (varna) is one of the words connoting the CASTE system peculiar to India. The ancient texts suggest four great classes, or castes: the BRAHMINS, or priests; the Ksatriyas, or warriors and rulers; the Vaisyas, or merchants and farmers; and the Sudras, or peasants and laborers. A fifth class, Panchamas, or UNTOUCHABLES, includes those whose occupations require them to handle unclean objects. It is speculated that the Untouchables were originally assigned such lowly tasks because of their non-Aryan origins. This classification system hardly does justice to the modern complexity of the caste system, however. The classical works on dharma specify distinct duties for different classes, in keeping with the distinct roles each is expected to play in the ideal society.

Stages of Life

The classical works also outline four ideal stages (asrama), or stations of life, each with its own duties. The first of these is studentship (brahmacarya), from initiation at 5 to 8 years of age until marriage; the second, householdership (grihasthya), when one marries, raises a family, and takes part in society; the third, forest dwelling (vanaprasthya), after one's children have grown; and the fourth, renunciation (samnyasa), when one gives up attachment to all worldly things and seeks spiritual liberation. Besides the duties that are derived from an individual's class and station, general duties (sanatanadharma) are also incumbent on all moral beings. These include honesty, courage, service, faith, self-control, purity, and nonviolence.

These ideal classes and stations encompass males only. The position of women in Hinduism has always been ambiguous; they are, on the one hand, venerated as a symbol of the divine, on the other, treated as inferior beings. Women were traditionally expected to serve their husbands and to have no independent interests. Recent movements within Hinduism, however, such as the BRAHMO SAMAJ, have succeeded in altering this situation.

Aims of Life

Dharma is only one of the four aims of life (purusartha) distinguished within Hinduism. It is thought of as superior to two others—kama, or enjoyment of desires, and artha, or material prosperity. These three constitute the aims of those in the world (pravritti). The fourth aim is liberation (moksa), the aim of those who renounce the world (nivritti), and this is classically viewed as the supreme end of man.

Karma and Rebirth

A widespread feature of classical Hinduism is the belief in TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS, or samsara, the passage of a soul from body to body as determined by the force of one's actions, or KARMA. The strict karma theory specifies that one's type of birth, length of life, and kinds of experiences are determined by one's previous acts. This is modified in popular understanding, but it probably has remained a strong influence on most Hindus throughout history. Liberation is release from this cycle of rebirth. It is typically to be achieved by working out those karmic residues which have already begun to mature, as well as by following certain practices to ensure that no further residues are produced to cause future rebirths. The practices by which one can achieve this are frequently termed YOGA, and the theory of liberation is the core of Indian philosophy.

PHILOSOPHY

Hinduism is usually said to include six philosophical systems. The systems called Nyaya, Vaisheshika, Samkhya,

and Yoga emphasize yogic practices coupled with an understanding of basic principles of metaphysics and epistemology. Nyaya, in addition, includes an analysis of logic. The systems called Mimamsa identify the performance of ritual—the Vedic sacrifice, or action performed in that spirit—as the means to liberation. The many VEDANTA systems, taking their inspiration from the UPANISHADS, tend to emphasize understanding of the relationship between the self (Atman) and ultimate reality (Brahman) as the critical aspect of any path to liberation. Philosophies associated with sectarian movements, such as the BHAKTI cults, frequently localized in a linguistic or cultural area within the subcontinent, emphasize the path of theistic devotion.

HINDU DEITIES

The two great theistic movements within Hinduism are Vaishnavism, the cult of VISHNU, and Shaivism, the cult of SHIVA. Hindu belief, however, usually holds that the universe is populated by a multitude of gods. These gods share to some extent the features of the Godhead but are seen as behaving much as humans do and as being related to each other as humans are. This view is similar to that of the ancient Greeks. For example, the supreme gods BRAHMA, Vishnu, and Shiva and some of the other gods are often viewed as activated through their relationships with female deities. These female consorts to the deities are called SHAKTI. Other well-known gods are said to be relatives of a supreme god, such as GANESHA, the elephant-headed god, a son of Shiva and Parvati. KALI, or Durga, the consort of Shiva, is worshiped widely throughout India in the autumn. Hanuman, the monkey-faced god, is depicted in many shrines, and along with LAKSHMI, Vishnu's wife, is among the most important deities associated with Vaishnavism. The sets of gods recognized by different sects are by no means mutually exclusive, however.

FORMS OF WORSHIP

Hindu worship takes many forms. One of the least frequent is the congregational form so familiar in the West. Vedic sacrifices were conducted in any open place properly consecrated. Typical Hindu daily worship (puja) includes a stop at several shrines, a visit to a temple, and home worship. A Hindu may be devoted to several gods: the image of one god, frequently a family deity, is commonly installed in a small shrine in the home; a second god, worshiped at a nearby temple, may be the divinity to which the person's caste is committed; and still another may be the god to whom the individual makes obeisance as his GURU (teacher) or his guru's tutor. Because everything is sacred in a Hindu's eyes, almost anything may be considered worthy of devotion; rivers, cowpens, and the retreats of holy men are among the holy places frequented by the devout.

Home Worship

Home worship typically involves purification of the area through fire, water, and the drawing of symbolic diagrams. Depending on one's class and station, the frequency with which a Hindu is expected to perform the rites, and the role performed in them, will differ. The rites involve offering food, flowers, or incense to the deity, together with appropriate recitations of sacred words or texts. An especially important ritual is known as sraddha, in which Hindu males symbolically support their father, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers in other worlds by offering water and balls of rice; this ritual dates from Vedic times. The worshiper requires the services of a priest on this occasion, as for other life-cycle ceremonies such as birth, initiation, marriage, and death.

Temple Worship

The priests also carry out temple worship, although the devotee may participate in the reading of certain hymns or prayers and may give flowers or money to the god directly. The image of a god is believed to be the god, and the cycle of worship in a temple centers on the daily life of the god, involving preparation of the god for worship—waking him up with bells, purifying him with incense, bathing him, dressing him, and feeding him. The worshiper comes to the temple to view (darshana) the god and to receive the food (prasada) that the god has touched. As in the cycle of an ordinary person, special days occur in the cycle of the god of the temple, and on these days special ceremonies are held. These are frequently the times of festivals and may involve elaborate ceremonies: pilgrimages of vast numbers of devotees, processions bearing the god's image throughout the city or countryside, and special music, plays, and dances for the occasion.

Sacred Cities and Festivals

The seven sacred cities of Hinduism are the following: VARANASI (Benares), Hardwar, Ayodhya, Dwarka, Mathura, Kanchipuram (Conjeeveram), and Ujjain. Other important pilgrimage spots include Madurai, Gaya, Prayaga (ALLAHABAD), Tirupati, and Puri. Each of these places has one or more temples where annual festivals are

celebrated that attract large numbers of pilgrims.

Certain festival days are celebrated throughout India on a day fixed according to the Hindu lunisolar calendar. Prominent among these is Dipavali, the "Festival of Lights," occurring in October and November, at which lamps are placed around the house to welcome Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity. Holi, a spring festival in February or March, is a day of riotous funmaking; this frequently involves temporary suspension of caste and social distinctions, and practical jokes are the order of the day. In the fall (September and October) a ten-day period is set aside to honor the Mother Goddess, culminating in Dashara, the tenth day, a day of processions and celebrations. This festival is extremely important in Bengal, where it is known as Durga Puja.

HISTORY AND LITERATURE

Scholars sometimes distinguish Vedism, the religion of ancient India based on the VEDAS, from Hinduism, although it is difficult to pinpoint a time that demarcates them. The Vedas were hymns of the ARYANS, who invaded in the 2d millennium BC.

Vedism stressed hope for a future existence in heaven and lacked the concepts of karma and rebirth; Hinduism characteristically includes karma and rebirth, and the greatest hope is for eventual release from their sway.53

The Vedic deities were somewhat different from those which dominate in Hinduism, although scholars have traced the origins of Vishnu and Shiva back to Vedic counterparts. Later Vedism is sometimes called Brahmanism because of the authority accorded the Brahmins, or priests, who performed the ritual Vedic sacrifice. However, the challenge of non-Vedic religions, notably BUDDHISM and JAINISM, led to the replacement of the rigid Brahmanical rules by more relaxed and varied forms of worship.

Although the Vedas continue to be spoken of as the final authority in Hinduism, other texts of equal importance exist. Thus, a literature was developed for each of the four aims of life: various Dharmasastras, such as the CODE OF MANU, which detail the duties of class and station; Kamasastras, such as the Kamasutras of Vatsyayana, handbooks of pleasure, erotic and otherwise; the Arthasastra, attributed to Kautilya (fl. 300 BC), which, like Machiavelli's The Prince, offers advice to a ruler as to how to keep the throne; and the philosophical literature of the various systems, which deals with liberation and how to achieve it.

In addition, certain collections of tales came to be widely known in popular life, especially the two great epics, the MAHABARATA and the RAMAYANA. The Mahabharata tells of five princes who were cheated out of their kingdom and who, after a period of banishment in the forest, returned to fight a victorious and righteous war to regain it. An especially beloved portion of this epic is the section called the BHAGAVAD GITA, in which Arjuna, one of the brothers, is counseled by his charioteer KRISHNA, an incarnation of Lord Vishnu. The Ramayana tells the story of the ideal Hindu man, Rama, whose wife Sita is abducted by a demon, and of Rama's journey to Sri Lanka to recapture her. Both epics are filled with didactic tales, edifying poems, and fables. It is probably through their constant retelling in the village that Hinduism is most efficiently disseminated from generation to generation. Another source of Hindu lore is the Puranas, collections of legends and myths.

The period from roughly 500 BC to AD 1000 is sometimes spoken of as that of classical Hinduism. It was during this period that the major literature was composed, the great philosophical systems developed, and the basic Vaishnava and Shaiva sects organized. After 1000, beginning in south India somewhat earlier, a spirit of devotional fervor coupled with social reform swept through India, and the period from that time until near the present is known as the bhakti period. During this time the forms of religious worship changed and diversified further. Singing of devotional songs and poems in the vernacular rather than in Sanskrit, the language in which practically all classical Hindu literature was written, is one example. Direct approach to the god was emphasized, and the mediating role of the priest somewhat curtailed. Love, a sentiment common to all but particularly to the most ordinary villager, is now celebrated as the way to the highest end; some bhakti philosophies hold that liberation is not the supreme goal and that loving service to God is a higher one.

Recent developments in Hinduism are indicative of a movement away from certain aspects of classical practice, such as SUTTEE, a widow's suicide at her husband's funeral; caste distinctions; and even karma and rebirth.

Karl H. Potter

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See also: ASIA, HISTORY OF; INDIA, HISTORY OF; INDIAN LITERATURE

Lesson Three Buddhism

Objective: A basic knowledge of Buddhism

Vocabulary

Siddharta Gautama
nirvana
stupas
Four Noble Truths
Eight fold Path

Lesson:

Needed materials: slides (pictures) of Buddha, cave paintings, temples, overhead of Four Noble Truths, and Eight fold Path, map of the spread of Buddhism

Slide Lecture/ Discussion

Who was Siddharta?
List the Four Noble Truths
List the steps of the Eight fold Path
How are these concepts similar to Hinduism? different?
Why didn't Buddhism flourish in India?
Where did Buddhism spread to?
What are the two branches of Buddhism? How are they different?

Lesson Four Indian Empires

Objective: Identify the important rulers of the Mauryan and Gupta empires and their contributions to Indian civilization.

Vocabulary

Alexander the Great
Magadha
Mauryan Empire
Chandragupta
Asoha
Rock Edicts
Gupta Empire (Golden Age)

Lesson:

Needed materials: Paper and markers for class to make a time line and pictures from magazines (or duplicated pictures from magazines on India (i.e. National Geographic or from various texts) or students may draw the illustrations themselves

Group Project (or Individual if preferred)

Students will make a time line of Mauryan and Gupta Empires that will show the following:

dates, rulers (dynasties) empires, and important cultural contributions; time line will include an illustration for each cultural contribution

When finished students will compare and contrast the Mauryan and Gupta Empire. They should note the role of religion, women, politics, the arts and science.

Lesson Five Indian Empires Continued

Objective: To understand the impact of the Moguls on Indian society and religion.

Vocabulary

Mongol (Mogul)
Tamerlane
Babur
Shah Jahan
Sikhism
Akbar
Divine Faith

Lesson:

Needed materials: student time lines (they will add to them), slides of Islamic buildings (tombs and mosques), Taj Mahal, Aramco World magazine July/Aug. 1997; "City of the Sultan"

Group Project/ Slide Lecture

Continue time line with dates, significant rulers, and important cultural achievements of Moguls

Discussion questions

How did the Mongol invaders treat the Hindus?
How did Akbar treat the Hindus?
What are some of the differences between Hindus and Moslems?
What cultural impact did the Moslems bring to India?
What lasting effect did Islam have with its relationship to the Hindus?
Who were the Sikhs? What was their role and impact in India?

Lesson Six Imperialism

Objective: To understand the European rationale for Imperialism and the impact it had on India

Vocabulary

imperialism
East India Company
Indian National Congress
Muslim League

Map Assignment

Show the area under British rule in
1805
1856
1886
Show the Princely states

Lesson

Needed Materials: Map

Lecture/Discussion

List three factors for 19th century European imperialism.
When and why did Great Britain come to India?
What was the purpose of the British East India Company?
What were the causes and outcome of the Sepoy Rebellion?
Compare and contrast the way the British East India Company ruled India with that of the British government.

Lesson Seven Independence and Modern India

Objective: To be familiar with (1) the reasons for independence and (2) the men who were responsible for leading India's independence movement and (3) what were and are the challenges facing India

Vocabulary

Amritsar Massacre
Ghandi
pacifist
civil disobedience
Jawaharla Nehru
Ali Jinnah
nonaligned

Lesson

Needed Materials: map, see Supplemental Comment #2, Newsweek Magazine International ed. Aug. 4, 1997, domestic ed. Aug. 4, 1997

Lecture/Discussion

What was India's position during World War I?
What was a major problem concerning Indian independence? (religion)
Why didn't the British want an independent India?
What affect did the Amristsar Massacre have in Indian nationalism?
Summarize the early life of Ghandi.
What was the effect of the Salt March?
Why was India divided into two countries, India and Pakistan, in August of 1947?
Inspite of being split into two countries of differing religions why did the violence continue?
How did the violence finally end?
Describe Nehru's policy of non-alignment.
Describe Nehru's domestic reforms.
How did these reforms conflict with traditional Hinduism?
What was Nehru's economic plan for India?
List some of Indira Ghandi's achievements / failures
What are some of the problems India faces in the twenty-first century?

Supplemental Comments:

(1) If time and resources allow, student could read any or all or parts of the following: *Mahabharata. Bhagavad Gita, Ramayana, Upanishads,* or *Siddharta.* These works could be analyzed and discussed as to the relevance of Indian cultural history.

(2) If time allows it would be beneficial to show the video version of the movie *Ghandi .* If in-class time is not available, possibly schedule as after school enrichment or extra-credit.

(3) The made for TV movie on Mother Theresa might also be shown.

STUDENT PROJECTS

1. Do daily homework assignment. Read the text and do assigned worksheets so that one is prepared for the daily discussion.

2. Read an article on India's challenges today. Summarize the material in the article in a two - three page paper. (Several possible articles are included in this presentation. Students are also encouraged to find their own articles. If they do, they are required to submit a copy of the article with their summary so that a file may be established of good articles.)

Do One of the following:

a. View the movie *Ghandi* . Write a two-three page paper evaluating the historical accuracy.

b. Do a project on India; following the guidelines outlined below.

1. Much of World History is the History of Religion.
In a mini-research paper do the following:
Define religion
Analyze an event in Indian History where religion played a major part. Include the basic principals of the religion(s) involved and why they caused the problem
From today's point of view, analyze why this should/not happen?
Could the conflict still happen today?
Be sure to include a Bibliography with your report

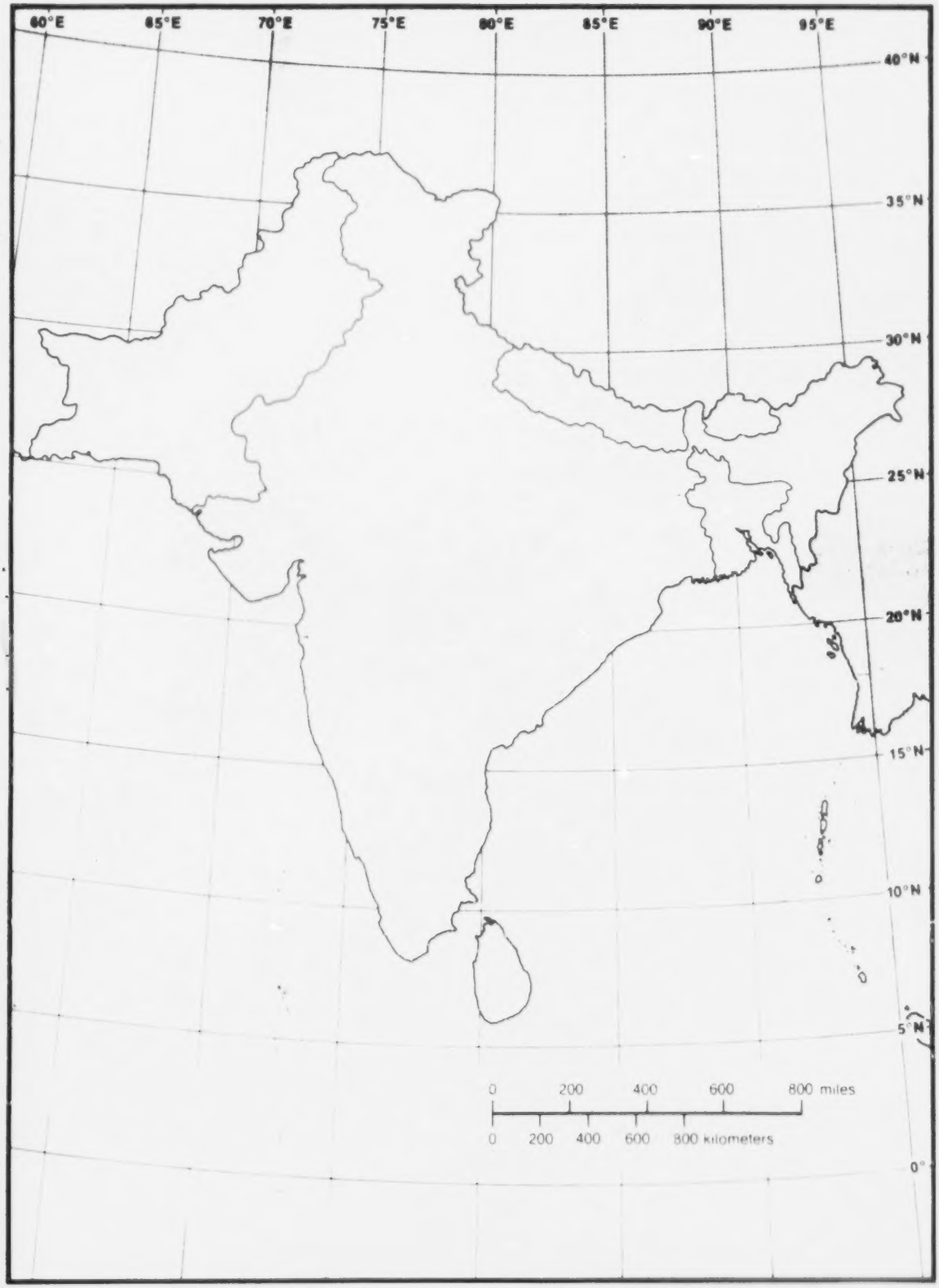
2. The Most Admired Person in Indian History
In a mini-research paper do the following:
Pick a person from the history of India
Analyze why this person was admired using various qualities that were admirable about this person at that time
Is this person still admired today? Why/why not.
Be sure to include a Bibliography with your report.

3. The Arts in Indian History
Art is a reflection of the society that produces it. The arts include painting, sculpture, architecture, music, dancing, drama and literature.
In a mini-paper do the following:
Pick an area of art with some specific examples
Describe the work
and explain why the work was created and why it is considered important
what can we today learn from the study of this art form?
Be sure to include a Bibliography with your report

Name _____ Date _____ Class _____

OUTLINE MAPS

South Asia



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MAP ASSIGNMENT

ON THE MAP BELOW, SHOW THE EXTENT OF BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM IN 1200 A.D. AND THE ROUTES OVER WHICH BUDDHISM SPREAD.

1. Write the following place names on the map after you have located them there: Afghanistan, Mongolia, Korea, Japan, Tibet, China, India, Burma, Indo-China, Thailand, Cambodia, Ceylon, Malaya, Borneo, Sumatra, and Java.

2. Locate the point on the map labeled "Origin of Buddhism." From this point, draw arrows showing the spread of Buddhism.

3. Draw horizontal lines in the map to indicate the extent of Hinduism, vertical lines to show the extent of Buddhism, and cross-hatching for mixed areas of Buddhism and Hinduism.

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The Paradox of India

Eminent Physicist Dr. V.G. Bhide, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Pune, delivered the Convocation Address at the first convocation of the Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Technological University, Lonere, Dist. Raigad (Maharashtra). He said, "There have been tremendous developments in our country in various spheres such as agriculture, education, science, industry, commerce, transportation, health care, communication, etc. ... There is still a substantial fraction of our people below the poverty line. This is the paradox of India. The paradox is particularly paradoxical because while we have succeeded, while we know how to achieve success, while we know how to create and produce wealth, we cannot extend it to cover all the people in the country. Our society therefore remains fractured and divided in terms of material benefits." Excerpts

Rapid advancement in science and technology, more than anything else, has been responsible for reshaping the world ar[illegible] in initiating an epochal phase in human history. With the dismantling of the Soviet Union, the collapse of the Berlin wall and the cessation of the cold war, arms race has given place to technological olympiad, political and military domination has yielded place to economic domination and technological imperialism. In the emerging world scenario, the competitive advantage of a nation will be determined increasingly by scientific capabilities and technological prowess rather than by military might. The nature and structure of the new world economic order will be increasingly influenced by what happens at the market place which in turn will be solely governed by technological considerations. In this emerging scenario, intellectual property will have primacy and intellectual property rights will be highly valued, zealously guarded and fiercely exploited. A new international patent regime is at our door-step.

Simultaneous with the transition from political domination to technological domination and economic exploitation, man's [illegible] relationship with Nature appears to be undergoing a profound change. Man stepped on this planet a million or more years ago. For most part of this time, he lived as a part of Nature finding his food on plains and shelter in hollow trees and caves. His existence was precarious and fluctuated, like those of animals, with the seasons. He was totally parasitic on Nature.

About 10,000 years before Christ, a profound change took place in the social and material existence of man. This happened through invention of agriculture and in practising agriculture, man was imitating Nature to grow plants and shrubs which he thought were useful for food or for medicine. About 200 years ago, with the emergence of science, man's relationship with Nature underwent another profound change. With the understanding of the external world, man learnt to manipulate Nature. 18th and the 19th Centuries have been the formative centuries of industrial civilization. For one who lived in that period, it appeared to him as a liberating phase in which he seemed to have found a sure way to unlimited progress and prosperity. In this phase man dreamt of the conquest of Nature. In his enthusiasm to conquer Nature, he irreversibly depleted energy and raw material resources, producing in its wake unaffordable pollution and unpardonable ecological degradation, threatening not only his very existence but also the existence of all life on this planet.

During the last decade or so, there has emerged a second or rather a third industrial revolution which is far more extensive and pervasive than the first. It manifested through automation, computerization, information revolution etc, as also through growing realization that man must learn to coexist with Nature. Now there is general awareness for preserving environment, reducing ecological degradation and for developing environmentally benign technologies.

It is equally important to realize that simultaneous with these revolutionary changes, science itself is undergoing in relation to its nature and structure and particularly in its relation with technology equally profound changes. Scientific research and technological developments are becoming ever so costly and interdisciplinary and interinstitutional. Over the last hundred years or so, science has been growing exponentially with a doubling period of 10-12 years. Similarly from its medicinal role in technology, a hundred years back, it has assumed a dominating role in shaping technology with the result technology is becoming more and more science based. This linkage between science and technology will become all pervasive and

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more intimate in years to come. It is obvious that to remain at the cutting edge of technology, it will be necessary to remain at the frontiers of science.

It is equally necessary to understand the difference between science and technology. Science is an endless quest to understand Nature, whereas technology is the application of this understanding to achieve societal objectives. Thus science is ennobling whereas technology is enabling, science is free and public whereas technology is private, local and has a price tag; science is elevating and noble but, in contrast, technology is a double edged weapon and needs to be exploited judiciously. And this requires sense of values, concern for life and for Nature. Consequently, technological education and development as in your university, must necessarily be associated with a strong component of social and moral education.

Exponential growth in the knowledge connected with science and technology has very many implications, one of them, of course, is the continual decline in the time of obsolescence. The time of obsolescence which was 70 years at the time of Farady has presently shrunk to about 4-5 years. Every fourth or fifth year, one has to face a new generation of technology. The obsolescence is not only in terms of technology and its products and processes but is also in relation to the knowledge base which leads to innovations in technology. Indeed, a situation is fast approaching where a graduate will become obsolescent the day he takes his degree and a research paper will become out of date, the day it is published. These changes imply that, unlike in the past, it is not sufficient to have good education in the university for a limited period but the situation calls for continuing education throughout one's active life, so as to keep abreast with expanding knowledge, information and skill base. It is high time that technological institutions in the country establish facilities for continuing education.

Another implication of this exponential growth in knowledge connected with science and technology is the continual shrinkage in the time lag between a major discovery and its industrial exploitation for economic growth. It is not uncommon to find these days major scientific discoveries revolutionizing related industrial fields within a couple of years. We in India should therefore recognize that sustainable development will not be possible by only borrowing technology but by building a strong science base which will continually feed technological innovations, fuelling industrial and economic growth. Institutionally, it has become increasingly necessary and important to forge strong interaction between universities, national laboratories and industries with each one feeding the other two.

We are living during this momentous phase of human history where present is not just an automatic and normal extension of the past but is a n exciting launching pad for a great future. Indeed because of remarkable developments in communication, transportation, the world has shrunk both in time and space to the size of a global village, intimately interacting with itself. There is thus a compelling demand for globalization in almost every field of human endeavour. It is in this highly interacting, highly complex and highly competitive world that India will have to steer its course to recapture its past glory and to show to the world how economic development and prosperity can be consistent with human dignity and concern for Nature.

India has had a flourishing tradition in Science in the ancient and medieval periods. In mathematics, the names of Bhaskara, Aryabhatta, Varahmihira and others are familiar. In medicine, Charaka and Sushruta are well known. The major developments ranging from the concept of zero, tables of mathematical functions to the more visible observatories built in later era bear testimony to our scientific capabilities in astronomy. Iron and steel have been known and made in India since antiquity. The use of metals in building construction, for making canons and for making and coating household utensils were some of the early developments. The iron pillar standing at the outskirts of Delhi which has withstood the test of time without blemish or rust is a standing testimony of our accomplishment in metallurgy.

During the first thousand years of the Christian era, there were many ups and downs in India, many conflicts with invading armies and internal troubles, yet it was a golden period, a period of vigorous national life, bubbling over with energy and spreading out in all directions. Culture developed into a rich civilization flowering out in philosophy, literature, drama, art, science, mathematics, etc. India's economy expanded, the Indian horizon widened and several countries came under its influence. The great universities flourished, of these, Nalanda, the most famous, was respected for its scholarship and attracted students for their studies from several countries including China, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Bokhara etc.

However, because of invasion from outside, intercede quarrels, neglect of science and snapping of the tradition of originality, freshness of concepts, and adventure of ideas, the golden age came to a decline at the close of the millennium. There was no great figure in philosophy after Shankara, no literateur after Bhavabhuti, no mathematician after Bhaskara. We thus see that by the turn of the century, India was drying up and loosing her creative genius and vitality. Jawaharlal Nehru in *Discovery of India* says, "this (decay) was the inevitable result of the growing rigidity and the exclusiveness of the Indian social structure as represented chiefly by the caste system". There are repeatedly periods of decay and disruption in the life of every civilization and there have been such periods in Indian history, but what is unique to India is that at its core, India remained dynamic over the centuries. India survived such periods of darkness and rejuvenated herself afresh sometimes retiring into her shell for a while and emerging again with fresh vigour. Surprisingly, in India this quiescent period lasted for several hundred years.

The signs of resurgence of India appeared when Mahatma Gandhi galvanised this nation and set for itself one goal namely freedom. There was a powerful call for nationhood, a powerful call to unite to reach the goal and see the dawn of freedom. He believed that if all the energy of the Indian people is released again, we will rediscover our place in the world. This aspiration was reflected in Jawaharlal Nehru's speech on the midnight of 14th August 1947. Panditji called it a 'tryst with destiny' and said "the time has come for us to redeem substantially if not in full measure the promises we made to our people"

We are presently in the 50th year of our independence and will be celebrating the golden jubilee. During these 50 years, we have crossed many a valley, scaled many mountains, overcome many challenges, weathered many a storm, achieving many successes but at the end of it, we are far from redeeming our pledge. It is not difficult for anyone to conclude that we have yet a lot of work to accomplish in shaping our society, keeping in view the needs of modern age and at the same time retaining the glorious traditions of the past. Notwithstanding the rich background of our culture and tradition, which very few nations in the world can boast of, our vision of building a modern prosperous nation with social harmony and equitable distribution of wealth, without forsaking our ancient cultural traditions remains still unrealised. The challenges of building our nation are still stupendous.

This is not to say that we have not achieved much since independence. There have been tremendous developments in our country in various spheres such as agriculture, education, science, industry, commerce, transportation, health care, communication, etc. For example through green revolution, we became self sufficient in food. Out food production increased from 50 million tons in 1947 to over 190 million tons last year. We are the second largest producer of milk, fruit and vegetables in the world. In the field of education, literacy rate increased from 16% to 53% during the last 50 years. Likewise, because of improved facilities for health care, the average life expectancy increased from a meagre 30 years in 1947 to the present level of 62 years. In the industrial sector, our country has made giant strides and today Indian industry is highly diversified and possesses considerable technological strengths.

The other side of the story is, however, depressing. Nearly 50% of our population is still illiterate. There are still 300,000 villages without drinking water. Although we are self sufficient in food, many of our people cannot afford wheat or rice or more than one meal a day. There is still a substantial fraction of our people below the poverty line.

This is the paradox of India. The paradox is particularly paradoxical because while we have succeeded, while we know how to achieve success, while we know how to create and produce wealth, we cannot extend it to cover all the people in the country. Our society therefore remains fractured and divided in terms of material benefits. In the language of physics, our society seems to have been split into two bands; an itinerant band comprising of a small fraction of our population enjoying affluence and interacting with people in other countries and a valence or bound band comprising of a larger fraction of people struggling for bare necessities of life; the two being separated by a large forbidden gap. Almost all the ills in our social life arise out of poverty. It is because we are poor, people increasingly tend to organize themselves into caste groups. It is because we are poor, people prey on the poverty of the weak. It is because we are poor, millions remain exploited, millions of workers remain bonded. We must abolish the poverty that this country has been suffering from for the last few thousand years—abject, humiliating, debil-

itating poverty, the kind of poverty which drives two million children to beg on the streets, the kind of poverty which forces people to rummage dust-bins for food.

It is essential that every human endeavour in this country whether it is scientific, technological, industrial, agricultural, etc, must be directed towards generation of wealth. In much the same way, all policies of the Government, industrial undertakings, research establishments, universities should be such as to be conducive to creation of wealth. In terms of policies and our functioning we will have to move from restrictive regime to liberalised creative regime. Until recently, an industrial undertaking was penalised for producing more than the licensed capacity. I remember, not until long ago, while submitting collaborative research proposal, one had to give an assurance that the proposed collaboration was purely an intellectual pursuit and that no intellectual property of any consequence was likely to arise from it.

This paradigm of restrictive economy changed somewhat in 1991 when initiatives were taken to globalize our economy, to formulate new industrial policy and to shape appropriate fiscal policies. New initiatives in globalising economy should not be taken to merely mean opening our doors wide open for mobile foreign investment, and technology to come in without let or hinderance but should be seen as an expression of our resolve to participate in world trade in goods and services and technology commensurate with our population, material and human resource and our potential. May I humbly submit that integration of Indian economy with the global economy cannot ever be complete unless integration of our educational system, and of industrial research and technology with those of the rest of the world becomes a part of this grand plan. If this is accomplished with speed and determination then alone we can see India emerging as ultimate destination for foreign capital, for specialized learning, for major research and development effort so that we change our image from that of perennial technology seekers to technology providers. To my mind, India's enormous potential in these areas has not yet been tapped. This tremendous potential arises due to India's impressive scientific and technological infrastructure and its undisputed intellectual resource base.

Thanks to the foresight and vision of Panditji, India today possesses one of the finest scientific and technological infrastructure in the world. With 200 and odd universities, chain of national laboratories under CSIR, DAE, ISRO, ICAR etc, a number of science agencies, nearly 1500 private and public research institutions etc, India is in an enviable position as regard to science and technological education, scientific and technological research and development. Today, India possesses second largest scientific manpower in the world next only to that of the United States. This is our most precious national resource. All this can give India a marvellous launching pad on which it can set up a really ambitious plan for growth. I believe, in the factors giving competitive advantage to India, our strength in scientific and technological training and education, research and development strengths and highly qualified manpower are easily right on top of the list. In modern world, generation of wealth requires capital, technology and human resource. So far, we have been constrained because of availability of capital and our inability to optimally use technology and our human resource. Although all efforts need to be made to attract foreign capital, it is necessary and far more advantageous to capitalize on technology and our talented human resource, and rich biodiversity. Globalization of our Science and Technology education, research and development should therefore be on the top of our agenda.

Trends towards globalization of Science and Technology education, Research and Developments are visible even now in many developed countries. This includes taking over R and D intensive corporations and establishing R and D centres abroad. Japanese have developed a new concept called Techno Globalism which is interpreted as strong interaction between internationalization of technology and globalization of economy. In the USA, globalization of R and D and technology is reflected in the much faster rise in R and D spending abroad by US companies than their domestic funding. The European Commission Eureka project seeks to mobilize the scientific and technological skills of European countries. There is increasing visible trend towards networking and collaborative arrangements between educational and R and D institutions in various countries.

Globalization of R and D and global competition of skills are intimately related to globalization of business and industry. The strength of high technology industry depends not on the capability to make and market a product but is determined by the underlying technical skills. As the product life cycle diminishes, the skill life cycle has to become long-

er, and related skills, stronger. In such a situation, products become transients whereas competence and skills have to be all embracing and permanent. There will therefore be increasing pressure on high technology industries to concern themselves to consider what kinds of skills, capabilities and technologies should be acquired rather than to concern themselves with what kind of products to make and market. In short, intellectual property will increasingly become a high value marketable commodity. In fact, it was so even earlier but hitherto advanced countries were in the market of international brains trying to attract talented qualified scientists and engineers to their land creating brain drain problem in developing cou[illegible] situation is changing fast in such a way that R and D facilities, technology generating centres, wherever they exist in the world will be taken advantage of through collaborative or networking arrangements. The major driving force for this trend is the ever escalating cost of quality education, of research and development and the shrinking resources. Industries in developed countries have realised by now that they cannot afford establishing in house various facilities needed for education and training, research and development. Secondly, establishing R and D centres abroad help them for market penetration in those countries. A new concept of international division of labour is being propagated. The world now recognises that no country can be totally self sufficient, no nation can be producer of all goods and services. Each country wants to take advantage of where it exists in terms of, comparable competitive advantage.

India has enormous competitive advantage in terms of intellectual resource base, most impressive S and T infrastructure and one of the largest educational systems in the world. This advantage is further strengthened and made more alluring because of our salary structure in which we pay to a qualified scientist and engineer nearly two orders of magnitude lesser than what his counterpart with similar abilities is paid in advanced countries. In such a scenario, advanced countries will find it very lucrative to take advantage of highly qualified S and T manpower, strong and diverse S and T infrastructure at low cost in India. In this context, India has potential of becoming a home for all the research, all the laboratories, and [illegible] S and T infrastructure which the world needs. Indeed, we see the signs of movement in this direction. Many leading companies are moving their R and D centres to India. Swedish pharmaceutical company ASTRA has already set up a biotechnology R and D centre in Bangalore. Giant Unilever, General Electric Texas Instruments, Poloroid Corporation and several others have declared their intention to start R and D centres in India, Lack Welch, the Chief Executive of General Electric said, "India is a developing country. But it is a developed country as regards its superb scientific infrastructure. It is for this reason that we wish to shift a part of GE's development efforts to India". This trend has just set in and is bound to pick up in the coming decade.

Indian R and D laboratories can provide through such collaborative programmes (1) know-how transfer, (2) custom synthesis, (3) consultancy, (4) contract research and development, and (5) specialized testing and certification. Indian R and D institutions can put in, as their equity, their intellectual capital, in joint commercial ventures, in the form of research ideas, concepts, specialized skills, innovative techniques etc. Many contract and collaborative research programmes involve exchange of technical personnel between R and D partners which can be an invaluable help in augmenting the technical skills and knowledge base of Indian partners. More importantly, these contacts would expose the Indian researchers to the ways in which R and D interfaces with production or to the conversion of know how into commercial exploitation of the know how, which is at present a grey area as far as Indian R and D system is concerned.

There is a delicate relationship between R and D collaboration and technology acquisition. Technology buyers from India are being increasingly looked upon as potential competitors with the result technology acquisition is becoming more and more difficult. However, R and D alliances with firms abroad might open an avenue for technology acquisition as well. I envisage that through such strategic alliances, we can transform research into business, knowledge into capital. Such alliances will not only enable us to capitalise on our intellectual property but also help in updating our knowledge and skill base, generate employment amongst the educated, reverse brain drain, help in acquisition of technology and above all help in globalization of our education, technology and economy. The advantages are tremendous and we must cash on them and through this process launch India into a position of premier technology generating nation.

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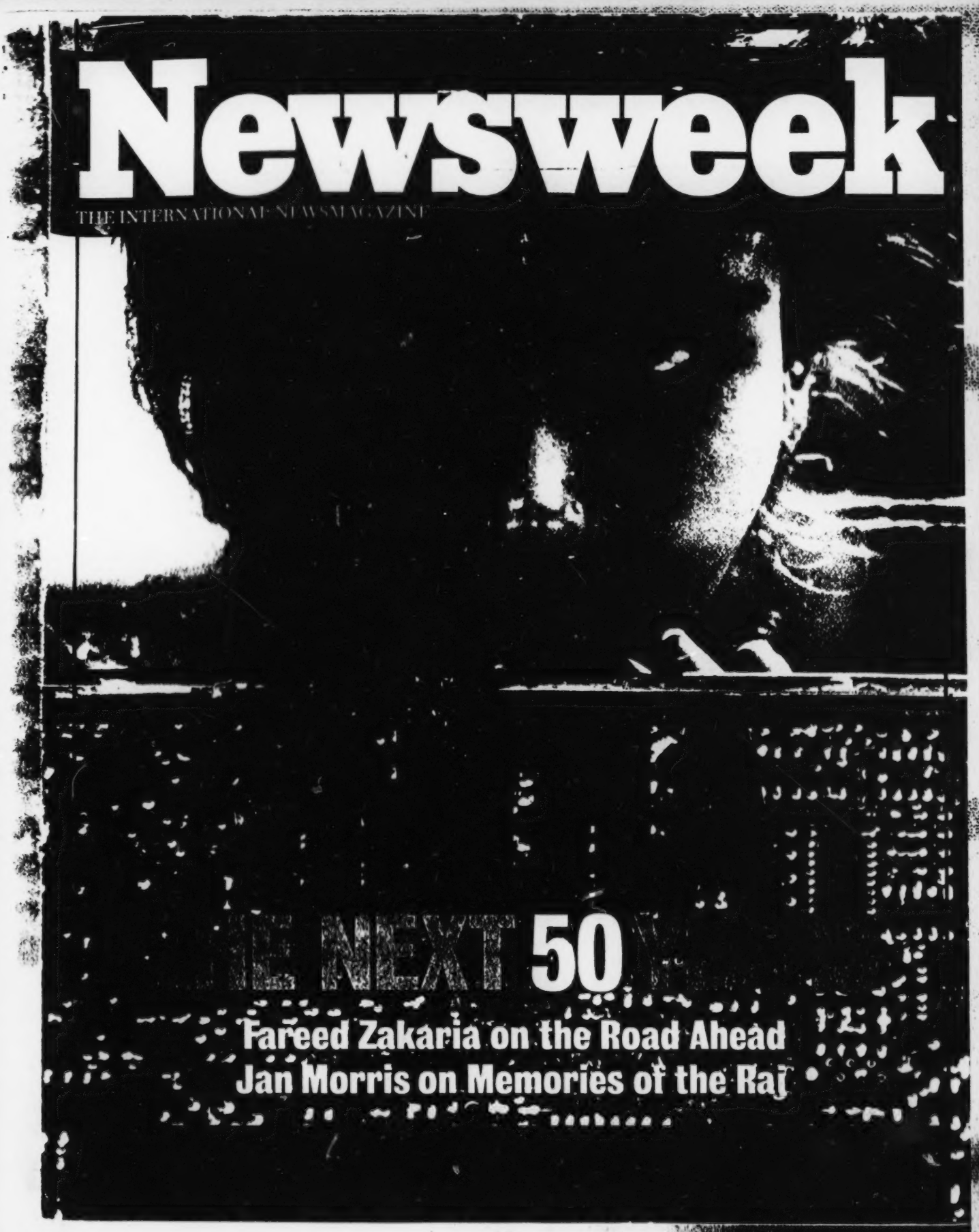

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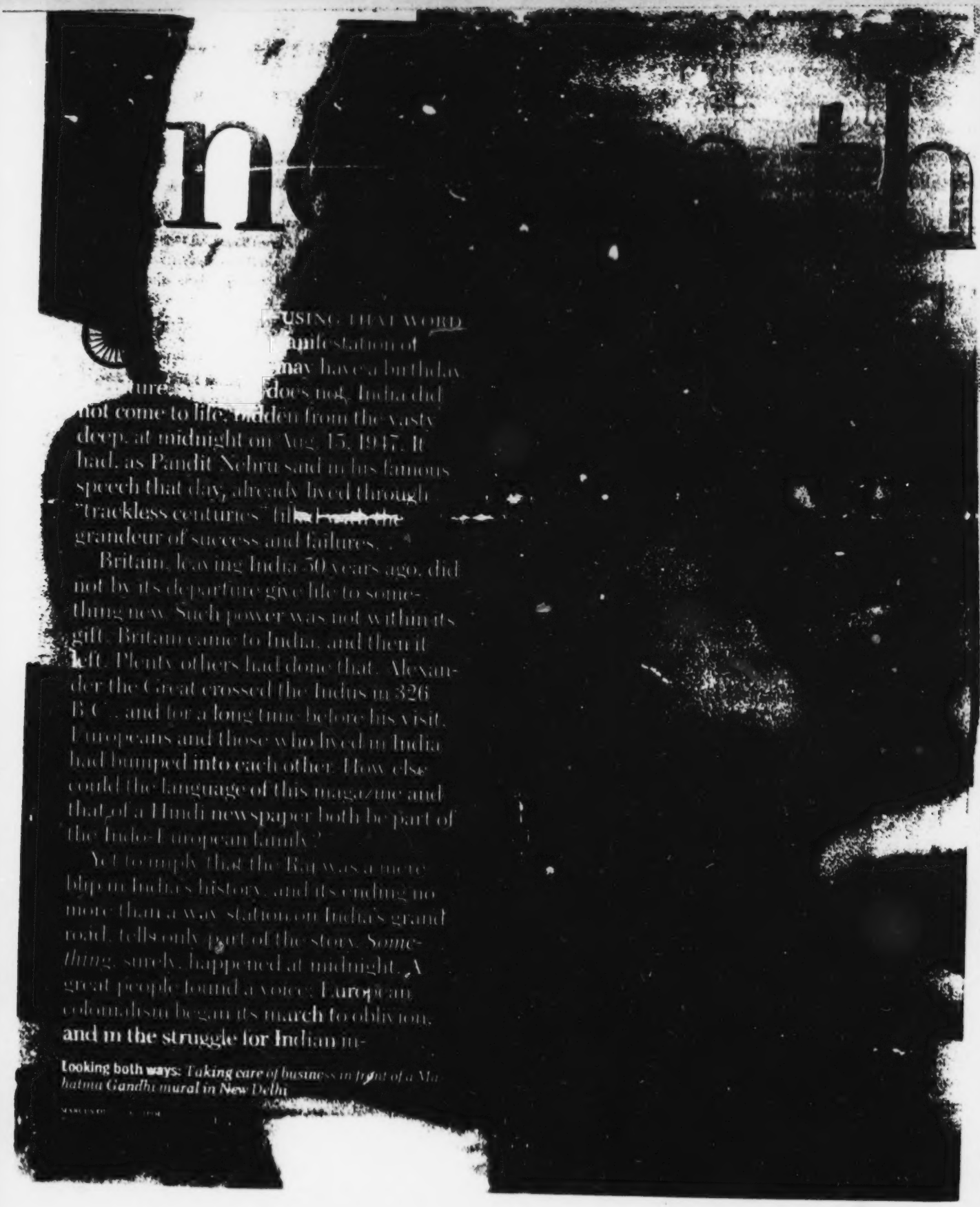

USING THAT WORD
manifestation of
may have a birthday
ture
does not. India did
not come to life, hidden from the vasty
deep, at midnight on Aug. 15, 1947. It
had, as Pandit Nehru said in his famous
speech that day, already lived through
"trackless centuries" filled with the
grandeur of success and failures.

Britain, leaving India 50 years ago, did
not by its departure give life to some-
thing new. Such power was not within its
gift. Britain came to India, and then it
left. Plenty others had done that. Alexan-
der the Great crossed the Indus in 326
B.C., and for a long time before his visit,
Europeans and those who lived in India
had bumped into each other. How else
could the language of this magazine and
that of a Hindi newspaper both be part of
the Indo-European family?

Yet to imply that the Raj was a mere
blip on India's history, and its ending no
more than a way station on India's grand
road, tells only part of the story. *Some-
thing*, surely, happened at midnight. A
great people found a voice. European
colonialism began its march to oblivion,
and in the struggle for Indian in-

Looking both ways: *Taking care of business in front of a Mahatma Gandhi mural in New Delhi*

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Brave New World: *Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru addresses the crowd at the opening of a drug and dye factory in 1952*

dependence, led by the saintly figure of Mahatma Gandhi, those who had been shackled found a template for their own construction of liberty. Not just in the colonized world, either; the public figure who most approximated Gandhian principles was a great American, Martin Luther King Jr.

THE 50 YEARS SINCE INDEPENDENCE HAVE HAD their disappointments. There have been periods when India has seemed strangely out of tune with the times around it. With a brief exception in the 1970s, it remained a vibrant democracy when many other former colonies—including Pakistan, which found its own freedom at that same midnight—did not. Under Nehru's leadership, India was decidedly "neutral" at a time when all the world was meant to be divided into two camps. Gandhian nonviolence ceased to be the chosen method of righting wrongs; from Palestine to South Africa, guns and bombs took its place. When the rest of the world—even those countries that had once been Marxist—decided that free-market economic systems were axiomatically sensible, India did not, continuing to wed itself to controls, planning and red tape. India was the exception. But exceptionalism did not build prosperity, and since prosperous nations stand a better chance of happiness than poor ones, when India stood apart, it stunted the life chances of its people.

Those days are over. The India that now sets out into the sunlight is changing fast. It is becoming more like the rest of the world (which does not mean that it will ever be quite like anywhere else). Its vibrant diaspora, a gift without price to other nations, brims with creativity and ingenuity.

Indians know better than any others how far there is to go until, as Nehru hoped, "poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity" are ended. And since India existed long before 1947, birthday greetings from afar may not be appropriate. But outsiders, surely, are allowed to wish India luck. We do so. ■

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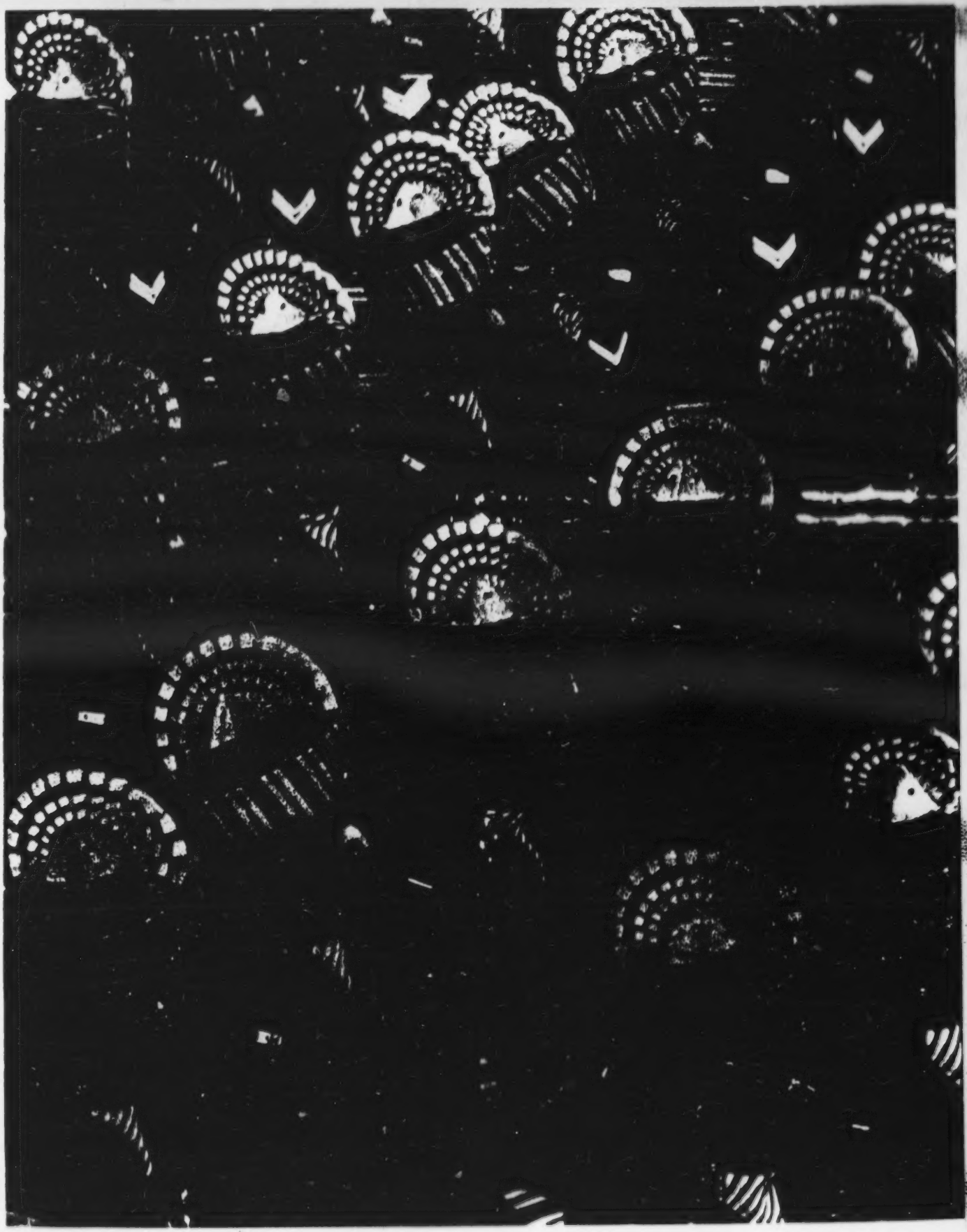

Ambition Joined to Pride

INTO THE DEPTHS OF BIHAR, ... REST state, along the dirt paths that connect its stagnant pools of humanity, past government signs touting chimerical programs of health and education, into the hopeless heart of a subcontinent where the squalid villages might remind you of sub-Saharan Africa—except that the poorest Africans fare better than the destitute of Bihar. Eventually you will stumble onto the village of Kalipahari, blessed with electricity thanks to a nearby hydroelectric dam. Here you will see, in practically every hovel: the incongruous: a television set, pulling down American soap operas and Scotch whisky ads broadcast from Hong Kong. This is the Indian dream at ground level. As the vision of "Baywatch" filters through Bihar, so even the poorest of the poor finally begin to rise from the depths of rotted isolation.

And so does poor, old India. For 50 years the national identity has depended on isolation from the country's perceived enemies—from plotting neocolonialists in the West, from greedy multinational companies, even from those intrepid Indians who resented the official creed of self-sufficiency. But now satellite TV has come to Bihar, and so has Coke; health and education will one day follow. The leaders in New Delhi have a new national ideal—rapid growth—and at least in spirit they have thrown open the doors to multinationals everywhere. More important, they are forging a national identity for modern times. India, at last, has begun to see itself as another Asian nation dedicated to the accumulation of wealth and prosperity. In the next century, that vision will hold infinitely more power than the old asceticism. "Perhaps our industrialization is not complete," says Srini Rajam, head of the Texas Instruments branch in booming Bangalore, "but we can leapfrog into the Information Age."

As India steps off on the road to wealth and prosperity, it is forging a new identity for modern times.

BY STEVEN STRASSER AND SUDIP MAZUMDAR

India has always had pride. Now it has ambition. In the early years of independence Pandit Nehru's government rejoiced in standing apart, the epitome of the "nonaligned" nation. As a conglomeration of peoples with seven major religions and 18 official languages, India made its own rules—a democracy in a

No big bang: *Students stream past the high-tech industrial center of Bangalore*

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complished by tinkering. What they got instead was nothing short of a revolution, led by Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao and his finance minister, Manmohan Singh. In a two-year rush of reform, Rao and Singh dismantled much of the bureaucracy's "license raj" of red tape, then went on to simplify taxes, reduce the scope of the state sector (which provided everything from power to motor scooters), liberalize foreign investment and cut tariffs. From earliest days, says Singh, "our goal has been to show the world that India can compete with any country in Southeast Asia in our hospitality to investment and our spirit of enterprise."

In the present mood of self-flagellation, India's policymakers point out that the most politically difficult reforms are yet to come. They include cutting food and fertilizer subsidies, for example, and ending state monopolies on everything from insurance to basic phone service. The true test of India's entry to the world will come when New Delhi keeps its promise to cut import tariffs to East Asian levels. India's average tariff has dropped steadily to 40 percent, but Malaysia, Singapore and other rapidly developing East Asian countries have vowed to cut their average tariff to 5 percent by the year 2000. Still, the point is not how many reforms are left undone but rather how clearly the reforms accomplished so far suggest how to reshape India.

The new consensus begins with what is

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disappearing at the top. The central planning apparatus built by Nehru, based on a powerful bureaucracy, nationalized industries and as little commerce with the outside world as possible, has now been discredited. That in itself does nothing for the dregs of Indian society—as many as 200 million "cretinized, subhuman, abysmally underdeveloped people," as author Praful Bidwai puts it, remain as hopeless as ever. A few kilometers north of the wired village of Kalipahari, for example, people in the tribal settlement of Devnagra scratch out their existence in barren soil without electricity, sanitation, passable roads or health care—the witch doctor died of tuberculosis years ago), much as their parents did. "I live like this," says village elder Upan Kisku, "and my children will also live like this."

But for the first time in history, economic growth and the spread of communications are working a revolution among many millions more of India's poor. The government's program of teaming with foreign investors to string out copper wire for telephones is proceeding in fits and starts; even in New Delhi, the wait for a new phone can still stretch to three years. Anything more ambitious—like China's project to link all of its major cities with a backbone of fiber optic communications—has, in India, gotten no farther than the drawing boards. Even so, the government's decision to let in foreign satellite television has led to an explosion of more than 20 million cable-TV connections within the last two years. That's backbone enough to allow foreign influences—not least of all marketing and advertising—to reach deep into the Indian interior for the first time.

Even the growth encouraged by the current market opening—far short of double digits—has fanned consumer demands in India as never before. It's easy to monitor the spread of cell phones and Western cars

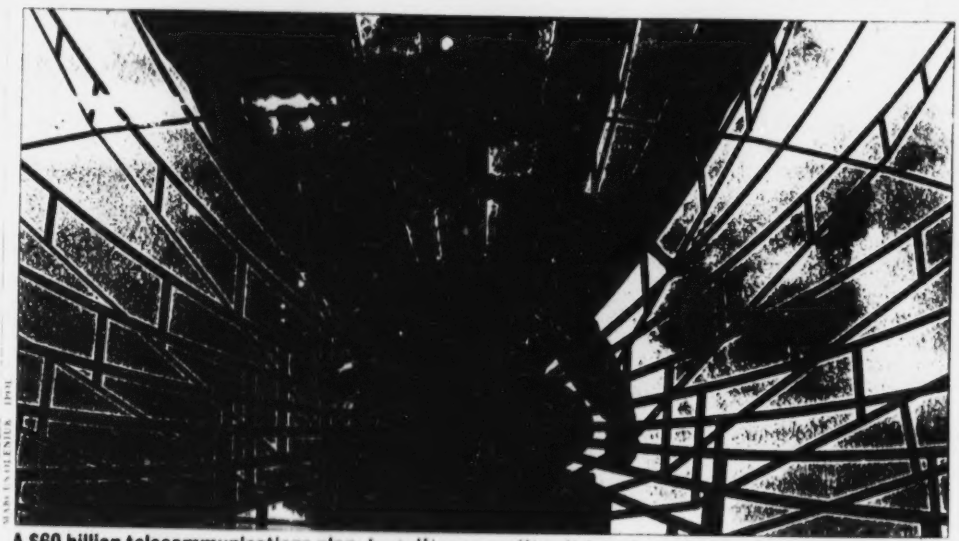
Out of the Dark Ages

With the help of foreign investors, India is finally beginning to modernize its antiquated phone network

INDIA HAS 950 MILLION people but only 12 million phone lines—one of the lowest phone-density ratios in the world. "Getting a phone is like hitting a jackpot," says Samir Singh, a telecom consultant in New Delhi. More than 2 million people are waiting for the Department of Telecommunications, the longtime state monopoly, to give them a connection. It's often easier to place a call to New York than to reach someone in a nearby neighborhood. Customer service is appalling, subscribers must sometimes pay bribes to get their phone fixed.

Despite the horror stories, the situation has started to improve. The government now realizes that economic growth needs first-rate communications. Three years ago New Delhi launched an ambitious modernization program, partially deregulating and privatizing the telecommunications sector. Private investors, including foreigners, are now building local networks. Satellite uplink facilities will soon be offered to private firms, and there is a rush to place communications satellites over the vast country. Modernizing the phone network will cost an estimated $60 billion—two thirds of which could come from private firms.

At first, foreign investors were leery. The telecom reform policies were hazy and arbitrarily enforced. In addition, corruption was (and remains) a major problem. To allay these fears, the government created the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India—an independent body charged with protecting consumer interests and resolving commercial disputes. Because telecommunications has been designated a "priority infrastructure," private investors enjoy a five-year tax exemption. "We're bullish on India," says Jeremy Metcalfe, the CEO of Millicom International Cellular, a Luxembourg-based firm that owns minority stakes in two fast-growing cellular operators—one in New Delhi and the other in Madras. "There is a lot of pent-up demand." Bharti Enterprises, an Indian phone company, is the majority owner of both operators. (Foreigners are allowed a maximum 49 percent stake.) Analysts project that the number of wireless subscribers will grow steadily. Says Metcalfe: "Cellular is a good way to get people phone service quickly, especially in developing nations where the land-line system is poor and not readily available."



MARK EDWARDS—IPM

A $60 billion telecommunications plan: *Installing a satellite dish in Bangalore*

Despite the progress, most Indians are still tethered to an antiquated network and indifferent bureaucracy. Rishi Kappal knows that too well. The New Delhi general-store owner is lucky: he has a home phone. But it hasn't worked for six months. The Department of Telecommunications has not responded to Kappal's complaints—but it does keep sending him bills.

RICHARD ERNSBERGER JR. *and* SUDIP MAZUMDAR

of a consumer awakening in the vast countryside—where 74 percent of all Indians still live—is a more significant story. The ironic side of a minimalist lifestyle in a rural backwater is that the people living there can spend relatively more of their income on conveniences—a bicycle, for example, rather than a new roof. And people do have more to spend: incomes for agricultural workers have been going up by more than 8 percent a year—faster than the national growth rate. India's manufacturers have noticed. Far beyond the cities, "suppliers are now chasing consumers," says S. L. Rao, an economist who specializes in consumer trends, "not the other way around, as before."

YES, MERCEDES-BENZ IS NOW making cars for Indian cities, but marketers also are paying attention to the booming demand for bicycles and scooters in the countryside. A manufacturer of $1.20 bottles of shampoo for middle-class Indians found a huge new market for two-cent packets of the brand in poor areas. The race is on to produce cheap television sets and appliances. One entrepreneur found a way to convert a device for making *lassi* (a dairy drink) into cheap washing machines. The first developer of a good $50 refrigerator, suggests Rao, would now find a huge new market in rural India.

India's rural awakening is far more than a marketing opportunity. Agricultural products make up nearly 20 percent of the country's exports, and their importance is increasing. That makes the likes of rice farmers (who exported 5 million tons last year) and fruit and vegetable growers (whose exports are increasing by 20 percent annually) some of India's main proponents of foreign trade. Indian scientists have long put considerable efforts into improving the country's cash crops of rice and wheat. Now they are also finding ways to improve the yield of millet and other cheap-

A Passage From the Past

In the last 240 years, India has completed an epic journey from empire to British colony to the world's largest democracy.

The Brits battle for India

1757 The British East India Company gains control of Bengal after Lt. Col. Robert Clive defeats French and Mogul forces

1858 After a century of growing influence on the Subcontinent, the British government takes direct control of India

1885 The Indian National Congress is formed and presses, with increasing stridency, for a greater Indian voice in government

Early days

1906 Muslims establish the Muslim League to defend their interests against the Hindu majority

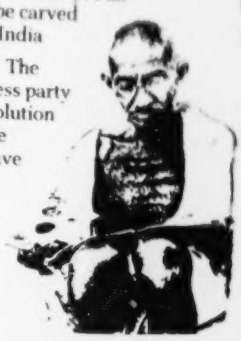
1920 Mahatma Gandhi takes over the Indian National Congress and presses for 'nonviolent disobedience'

1935 The British government approves a constitution that gives Indians more political power

A British duke and a staffer go hunting

1940 The Muslim League demands that a separate Muslim country, Pakistan, be carved out of India

1942 The Congress party passes a resolution calling on the British to leave



Gandhi: crusader

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Living without: *A shantytown with no plumbing beside a Mumbai water main*

er grains that make up the staple diet of many poor people.

THIS IS HAPPENING BECAUSE India's poor people are beginning to find their political voice. India's democracy has always been hobbled by the primitive state of its grassroots politics. Too many local leaders bubbled up to national power on their ability to buy votes and deliver favors—and subsequently used their national platforms mainly to enrich themselves. As long as India's system amounted to a kinder, gentler Stalinism, there was very little chance for any of this to change. But in recent years the rural awakening that has accompanied economic reforms has also awakened local politics as never before.

The result has been chaos and confusion in New Delhi, where national leaders have had to make do with shaky coalition governments. But in the states and cities, energetic new leaders have emerged who are forming policies much closer—literally—to the needs of their constituents. After 50 years of rigid "Victorian" politics, says political scientist Ashis [illegible] ing back to the Mogul tradition of a loose federation of states."

There is still plenty of politics as usual. In basket cases like Bihar, political parties divided on caste lines still reach power only to siphon off vast sums of money meant for the development of agriculture and industry. Federal investigators have charged Laloo Yadav, who last week resigned as chief minister of the state, with abetting a multimillion-dollar scam in which politicians and bureaucrats diverted money meant for buying fodder. But these days zealous prosecutors are only one of an incompetent state government's worries. The Tata Group, which built India's first steel

Nehru, Gandhi

1947 India gains independence one day after Pakistan is created; Pandit Nehru becomes prime minister

1947-49 India and Pakistan fight over Kashmir

1948 Gandhi, on his way to an evening prayer meeting, is shot to death by a Hindu extremist

1965 India and Pakistan fight a second war over Kashmir

1966 In a compromise, the left and right wings of the Congress party name Indira Gandhi India's first woman prime minister

Pakistani POWs

1971 India assists East Pakistan in winning a war against West Pakistan. East Pakistan becomes Bangladesh.

The lady P.M.

1974 India explodes its first nuclear device in an underground test, but declares it has 'no intention of producing nuclear weapons'

1984 Indira Gandhi is assassinated by a Sikh bodyguard. A Union Carbide gas leak in Bhopal kills 2,000.

1991 Rajiv Gandhi, Indira's successor, is assassinated

1994 India's rupee is made fully convertible

1996 The Congress Party, which had ruled for all but four years since India's independence, is defeated in general elections

Bhopal baby

1997 Inder Kumar Gujral of the center-left United Front coalition becomes India's fourth prime minister in one year

Mourning at Rajiv's cremation

plant in Bihar, recently chose neighboring Orissa for an expansion. Orissa gave cheap land, promised uninterrupted electricity and agreed to develop a port for Tata.

State competition for the spoils of reform is now common. Tamil Nadu attracted a Ford Motor Co. plant by waiving state sales taxes and offering land at a concessionary price. Uttar Pradesh won the competition for an electronics project set up by the Korean giant Daewoo. Andhra Pradesh has set up a high-tech center to attract information companies that in the last decade had made Bangalore, in Karnataka, into India's "Silicon Valley." Maharashtra has joined that battle. Its capital, Mumbai, is already a major technology center and its second contender, Pune, has linked itself as a sister city to San Jose—in the real Silicon Valley.

BANGALORE'S DOZEN-YEAR-old information industry stands as the glittering tiara of the new India. That might seem like an exaggerated way to describe a collection of enterprises in a polluted city with erratic electricity supplies: the industry serves a national market of 1.8 million installed personal computers—about a third of the number in New York City. But what the info-tech companies stand for is vitally important. The homegrown firms and those allied with all the big names from IBM to Intel have exuberantly cut through red tape and protectionism, thriving in an open market in which the government has cut import tariffs on software from 300 percent to zero and on hardware from 200 to 20 percent. The major players are confident and combative. "If we can't compete with international brands in our own country, we can't hope to ever compete in other countries," says Dewang Mehta, head of the National Association of Software and Service Companies, a trade group.

Though Bangalore Inc. is no Microsoft, Indian computer engineers have won a

An Uncertain Road to Global Power

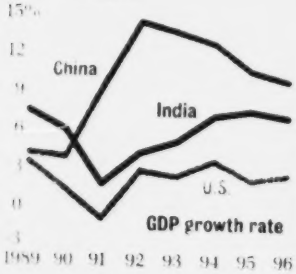
Though India has a flourishing software industry and may become the world's fourth largest economy by 2020, the country's human capital still lags behind its technical potential. A look at India's economy, its people and its military strength:

ECONOMY

A multitextured economy

Catching Up to China

A 7 percent economic-growth rate may put India on the same path as the Asian tigers.



The Investment Boom

Foreign direct investment in India increased more than tentold between 1990 and 1995.

DEMOGRAPHICS

Supporting Human Capital

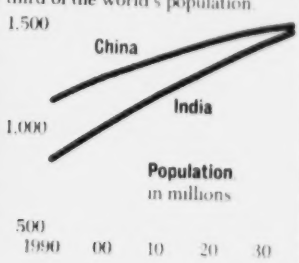
India must alleviate the poverty and isolation of half its population in order to compete with its fast-growing Asian neighbors.

GI[illegible]		CHINA 2,500	MALAYSIA 4,027	U.S. 22,788
Literacy	52.1%	78.0	78.0	97.9
Infant mortality**	71.1	39.6	24.0	8.3
Percent below international poverty line	52.5	29.4	5.6	n.a.
People per TV	47	5.2	9.7	1.2
People per telephone	112	62	7.9	1.7
People per physician	2,211	647	2,412	391

When the Two Shall Meet ...

India's population is likely to surpass China's after 2035. The two countries will continue to house about one third of the world's population.

The people: Tightly squeezed

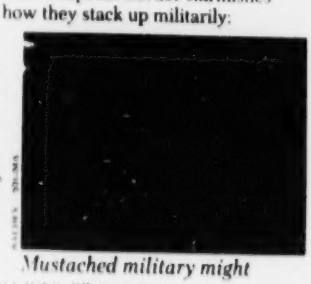


THE MILITARY

An Uneasy Border

India and China are armed with nuclear weapons. Border skirmishes could escalate into real war. Here's how they stack up militarily:

PERSONNEL	INDIA	CHINA
Army (in thousands)	980	2,200
Air force	110	470
Navy	55	265
MILITARY HARDWARE	**INDIA**	**CHINA**
Tanks	3,500	8,000+
Combat aircraft	778	1,970
Warships	26	54
Subs	19	63



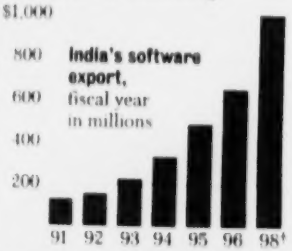
Mustached military might

TECHNOLOGY

Surfing the wave of the future

From Software to Hard Cash

India's software exports have soared, making it a leading center for information technology.



Not Just to the United States

More than half of India's software exports go to the U.S., but trade with Europe is growing rapidly.

SOFTWARE EXPORT DESTINATIONS

Anna Kuchment with Kendra Johnson

niche running the back-office operations of major Western banks and airlines and as economical writers of custom software. At the Intotech Group of Wipro Ltd., one of the most aggressive Indian players, teams work on troubleshooting and maintenance tasks for such partners as Cisco Systems, Tandem and NCR—by remote control, after their American partners have closed for the night. Though the geeks of Bangalore are wary of competition from Ireland and other English-speaking, low-cost suppliers, they project their service exports to more than double to $2.5 billion by the year 2000 and to continue to grow by at least 50 percent a year.

Most of the action, however, will remain in India's domestic market. Foreign investors from carmakers to cereal sellers will come mainly to reach the country's expanding consumer class, not primarily to use it as export platforms. As India streamlines its professional bureaucracy and unclogs its independent courts, multinationals might end up feeling more comfortable in New Delhi and Mumbai than in the regulatory wilds of Beijing and Shanghai. "We are getting over this old, postcolonial fear that foreign investors are all bad guys who are coming over here to eat us up," says Deepak Satwalekar, managing director of Mumbai's Housing Development Finance Corp. "As our mind-set changes, Indian companies will learn to make foreign partnerships and compete."

The Indian mind-set is without question changing in revolutionary ways. Not so long ago, the nation of 950 million people, growing by 18 million a year, worried mainly about feeding itself. But in today's newly competitive India, bureaucrats and industrialists ponder the advantages of a low-cost labor pool that is growing younger while the work force of the developed world is aging. Perhaps India's greatest strength of the 21st century will lie in its ability to employ hundreds of millions of people in labor-intensive indus-

Turbans, Spit and Polish

India's armed forces are disciplined and have stayed out of politics. But their weapons could be better.

EACH JAN. 26—Republic Day—an enormous parade makes its way down New Delhi's Rajpath, the grand ceremonial road that runs from the grand enclave of official buildings designed by Edwin Lutyens to the India Gate. Pride of place is reserved for the Indian armed forces. Prithvi and Agni missiles are hauled along; fighter jets roar overhead. With pennants and banners flying, in turbans of brilliant regimental colors, in tanks, on feet, camels and elephants (which dip their trunks to the presidential viewing stand), regiments of Rajputs, Gurkhas, Marathas, Dogras, Punjabis and Sikhs display India's military power.

Indians have reason to be proud of their armed forces. They have triumphed in three wars against Pakistan. And in a part of the world where military coups have been common, the Indian Army has never tried to meddle in politics. Moreover, the military has embraced all races and classes. In the 1971 campaign against Pakistan, the majority of troops, naturally, were Hindu. But the army chief of staff, Gen. Sam Manekshaw, was a Parsee; Maj. Gen. J.F.R. Jacob, who planned the Indian offensive in East Pakistan, was a Jew; while Lt. Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, who led the ground troops into battle, was a Sikh.

Pride of place: *Medium-range missiles on parade in New Delhi*

India's armed forces may be well trained and disciplined, but they face serious challenges. The army, with almost 1 million men, is the second largest in the world. But it is stretched. Its tense border with Pakistan, the old enemy, is guarded by heavy armored divisions. Maintaining security in troubled Kashmir takes relatively lightly armed troops. In the far northeast, ethnic groups like the Bodos in Assam and Nagas in Nagaland are fighting for independence or autonomy. And then there is China, still occupying 45,000 square kilometers of Indian territory seized in the border war of 1962. Air Commodore Jasjit Singh, director of Delhi's Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, keeps a map he bought in Beijing pinned on his wall. He points out the Chinese version of the border between the two countries. "That's about 94,000 square kilometers of Indian territory they're claiming," says Singh. "I sometimes wonder whether—or when—the Chinese will assert their claim."

Indian saber rattlers demand upgrades of weapons. This year there has been a fierce campaign by some commentators to complete development and test-fire nuclear warheads on India's medium-range missiles (India had a successful nuclear test in 1974). That makes professionals uneasy. "We don't want an expensive arms race," says Lt. Gen. Satish Nambiar, director of the United Services Institute of India. "We shouldn't try to match China, and we can't afford to, anyway."

Sensible sentiments, in times of peace such as India has enjoyed for 26 years. But Beijing is rich enough to make, or buy, top-of-the-line equipment. India's own weapons production depends on inefficient state monopolies, which have produced lemons like the Arjun battle tank, first commissioned in 1972. Last year Jane's Armour and Artillery said that "sources indicated the vehicle still failed to meet the requirements of the Indian Army in the key areas of reliability, availability, maintainability and durability." In a real shooting war, elephant corps, turbans, professional discipline and spit and polish get you only so far.

TONY CLIFTON

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

tries ranging from food processing to textiles. "Just think of the economic output we can generate from this population when our per capita income of $330 doubles early in the next century," says Mukesh Ambani, vice chairman of Mumbai's Reliance Industries. "That will clearly boost us into range of becoming an economic superpower."

Somehow, the mantle of "superpower" does not quite fit the personality of a huge, poor country that will continue to regard itself, culturally and politically, as the world's great exception. Nor will India likely become a classic Asian tiger. As a vibrant democracy that must always tend to its own first, the nation will never produce a Deng Xiaoping to dictate its strategy from on high. The new Indian dynamo will muddle along, sure of its direction but never of its strategy, obsessed always with the myriad demands from within. "We will take one sector at a time, show it works and build confidence," says Manmohan Singh. "There can be no big-bang theory of growth."

An outsider can gauge India's progress by measuring the market's success at shifting resources to the government's neediest constituents—something the centralized bureaucracy never could accomplish. How will life change in the most desolate regions of Bihar? At the absolute end of the line, in the village of Devnagra, a foreign donor recently gave $7,000 for a new well, the kind of gesture that short-circuits India's inefficiencies (to put it politely) rather than validating reform. Nonetheless, once fresh water comes to the village, it will be less hard to imagine a school, a clinic, even a road—and along that road, a thin copper wire connecting the darkest corner of India to the riches of the world.

With RON MOREAU *in Mumbai,* TONY CLIFTON *in New Delhi and* JOSHUA KWAN *in Hong Kong*

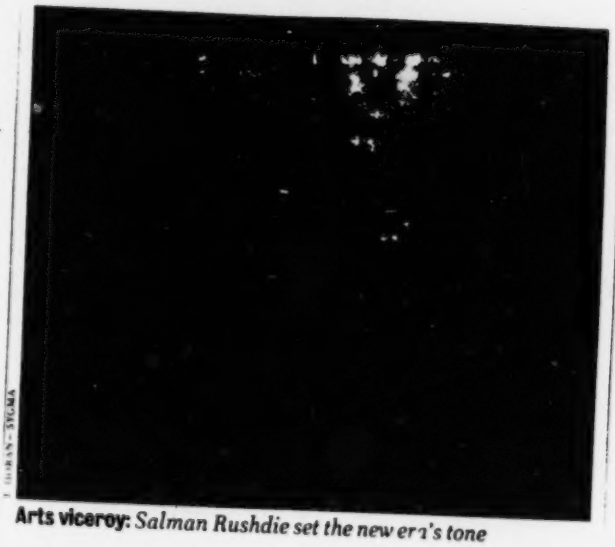
The New Cultural Raj

India's writers and artists are global superstars. May the sun never set on the Indian Empire.

THE BRITISH IMPERIAL age may be over, but a new Raj has begun: the Indian cultural empire. During the 19th century, factories in Manchester spun raw Indian cotton into cloth, then shipped it back to be sold in Indian bazaars. Today, Indian writers spin masterpieces from Britain's great export—the English language—and sell them to the West. Vikram Seth's "A Suitable Boy"—said to be the longest English-language novel of the century—brought him a $1 million advance from his Indian, British, and American publishers. The $1 million Arundhati Roy received for "The God of Small Things" is thought to be the largest advance awarded a first-time novelist.

These writers aren't just rich. They're respected. Seth's blend of domestic drama and historical detail has led Western critics to compare him to Jane Austen and Leo Tolstoy. In Roy's sensual intensity and hopscotch story line, they've found traces of Faulkner, Joyce and the patron sheik of postimperial literature, Salman Rushdie.

When Rushdie published "Midnight's Children" in 1981, a certain strain of Indian literature gained its independence. Rushdie had the moxie to talk back to colonizers—in a rich and magnificent voice. "Rushdie's was the first generation of Indian writers to use English as an Indian language, confidently and unashamedly," says the Indian critic Sudeep Sen.



Arts viceroy: *Salman Rushdie set the new era's tone*

Part of Rushdie's cosmopolitanism stems not from his writing, but his life. After "The Satanic Verses" was published in 1989, Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini declared Rushdie an apostate who deserved death. Thereafter, Rushdie was in hiding, but highly visible. Literary types in London and New York sported buttons in solidarity reading I AM SALMAN RUSHDIE. He was simultaneously everywhere and nowhere—the quintessential migrant. What better literary figurehead for a country with a diaspora estimated at 20 million?

The world's cultural map has been redrawn many times since 1835, when Britain's Lord Macaulay sneered that "a single shelf of European books [is] worth the whole literature of India and Arabia." In Macaulay's century, schoolboys from Rangoon to Reading lisped Shakespeare's sonnets. Today Australian director Baz Luhrmann credits Hindi films as an inspiration for his psychedelic movie version of "Romeo and Juliet." The London production company Working Title Films has signed Indian director Shekhar Kapur to direct a feature on that quintessential British institution: Queen Elizabeth I. This spring, Hindi-language singles from Asian artists Bally Sagoo and Trickbaby crept up the U.K. pop charts. "Instead of apologizing for not being white, there's an inherent pride in being an Indian now," says filmmaker Deepa Mehta. "For years we wanted to emulate the Brits, but that's died down."

The Indian cultural empire stretches beyond England. "The God of Small Things," which has had 22 editions worldwide in the four months since its publication, has been translated into Catalan and Estonian. Movie star Amitabh Bachchan has a hardcore fan base in Egypt.

More to the point, Indian culture reigns supreme in India itself. In Kerala, books in Malayalam outsell English-language books 10 to one. Hollywood moguls may have a firm grip on film audiences in the rest of the world, but Indians, with the world's largest film industry, opt for Bollywood's wet-sari-and-song offerings over American imports. Rule on India.

CARLA POWER *with* SUDIP MAZUMDAR

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Daylight's Children

THE PAST IS THE EASY PART. SCHOOLCHILDREN CAN RATTLE OFF THE NAMES OF THOSE who redrew the maps and led the marches. Their parents know all the patriotic tunes. Their grandparents can recount the thrill of listening to the midnight speeches—or witnessing the terror of partition. But who will make history in the new India? Who will become its legends? Portraits of some of the people who will shape the country in the next century.

BY SUDIP MAZUMDAR, VIBHUTI PATEL AND CARLA POWER

A literary sensation: *Arundhati Roy, author of a novel about love, death, caste and families*

NO SMALL THING

It all started, says writer Arundhati Roy, with a single image: a sky blue Plymouth, sun striking its tailfins, stuck at a crossroads as Marxist demonstrators swirl around it. From this small thing grew a strange and beautiful one: a novel about love, death, caste and families, set in the southern Indian state of Kerala in 1969. In the months since its spring publication, "The God of Small Things" has become a literary sensation. Critics have declared Roy a major talent, and readers have agreed: the book's been No. 1 on best-seller lists in Norway, Australia, Britain and India.

Fairly heady stuff for a first-time novelist who says she's spent life "on what we used to call the lunatic fringe." At 16, Roy was thrown out of her Kerala home by her mother. She made her way to Delhi, where she lived briefly in one of the city's slums, enrolled in architecture school and supported herself through stints as an architect's assistant. After graduating, Roy fell into acting in and, later, writing films. Her scripts brought her a tiny cult following for her fresh depiction of bourgeois Indian bohemians.

Writing "The God of Small Things" was an intensely personal process. Proceeding without a plan, she told nobody, not even her film-director husband, what she was writing. What began as a private pastime has now become a public—and controversial—phenomenon. Last month a Kerala lawyer, Sabu Thomas, charged her with obscenity because a scene in the novel portrays a sexual encounter between a Christian woman and a Hindu Untouchable. The lunatic fringe is looking better and better.

BOARD CHAIRMAN

When Vishwanathan Anand was growing up in Madras, other kids teased him because he preferred chess to cricket. Nobody makes fun of him now. At 28, he's a chess champion and earns more in prize money annually than any other sportsman in India. In fact, the public loves him—even when he doesn't win. In 1995 he was voted India's sportsperson of the year, despite having just

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA – INDIA TODAY

A cartoonist in prose: *Shashi Tharoor deftly spoofs his fellow U.N. diplomats*

lost the world chess championship to Garry Kasparov.

Since the age of 20, Anand's been among the world's 10 best players, and many consider him among the top three. The champion demurs: "In a sense, there is no such thing as a No. 2. Even the No. 1 slot is uncertain." Maybe, but it's clear that Anand has a shot at it. And—Kasparov, take note—his record shows that his match play always improves the second time around.

DIPLO-NOVELIST

In his book "The Great Indian Novel," Shashi Tharoor describes "Indian officials at the U.N., with quick, subtle minds and mellifluous tongues." It's a prose cartoon, made all the more sly by the fact that Tharoor is a U.N. diplomat as well as a novelist. The tall, witty 41-year-old has worked at the United Nations since he was 22, when he received his Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. As special assistant to the under-secretary-general in New York, he led the team responsible for peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia. In January he was appointed executive assistant to U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan. "To work for him is like working for an Indian yogi," observes Tharoor. "He has a strong, still center and reacts with great wisdom." Any flippancy about U.N. diplomats he reserves for his fiction: "The U.N. has the clout to make a difference."

Tharoor returns to India in his books. "The Great Indian Novel," published in 1989, won the Commonwealth Writers Prize. A burlesque version of India's recent political history, it includes thinly veiled portraits of Gandhis—both Mohandas and Indira. Salman Rushdie's masterpiece, "Midnight's Children," makes an appearance—

ASHOK VAIDYA

Charisma: *Priyanka Gandhi*

as "Midnight's Parents." Tharoor has written more sober tomes on Indian politics, including the just-published "India: From Midnight to the Millennium." When his two sons are grown, he hopes to retire to his native Kerala to write full time. "India matters a great deal to me," he says. "I'd like to matter to India."

HEIRESS APPARENT

For Priyanka Gandhi, politics is in the blood. The great-granddaughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, granddaughter of Indira and daughter of Rajiv, the 26-year-old is already being tapped as the heir to her family's powerful political dynasty. She has the touch: in the days after her father's murder, Priyanka was the most visible Gandhi family member. More recently she's helped her Italian-born mother tend to parliamentary duties in the family constituency in Uttar Pradesh. A psychology graduate married to a jewelry exporter, Priyanka has not yet said that she will go into the Gandhi family business. But many in the Congress party—whose fortunes have long been tied to her family's—hope she will. They're convinced that the party's flagging popularity can be revived only by someone with charisma and the Gandhi name. Priyanka has both.

ROCKERS ... NOT

Amaan Ali and Ayaan Ali Bangash are not your typical teenage musicians. For one thing, they practice five hours a day. For another, they play the *sarod*, a stringed classical instrument from northern India. They learned how to play it from their father, who learned it from his father, who learned it from his father, and so on, back seven generations. Indeed, Amaan, 20, and Ayaan, 17, are the youngest members of India's oldest sarod-playing family. And they're *good*. Performing together, solo or with the family, they have already recorded CDs and played, among other places, at Carnegie Hall and Prince Charles's Highgrove estate. But that doesn't impress these two young musicians. "What matters to us is not the prestige or the reviews but that our playing moves our parents and makes them happy," says Amaan. Spice Girls, are you listening?

PIERS CAVENDISH—IMPACT

Players: *Bangashes*

ON THE P.M. SHORT-LIST

N. Chandrababu Naidu, chief minister of the populous southern state of Andhra Pradesh, is not your typical Indian politician. The inexhaustible Naidu relishes his daily fight against bloated bureaucracy.

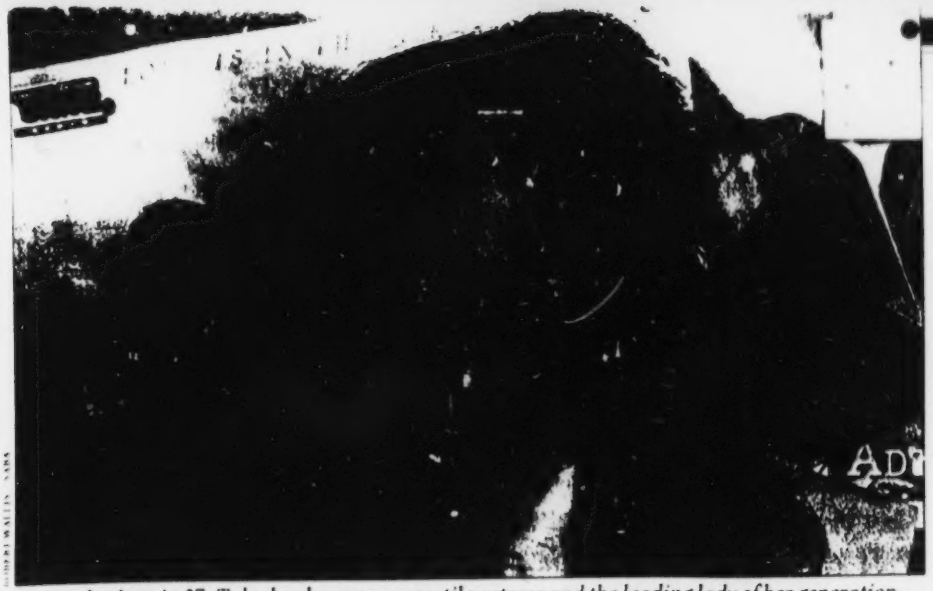
Then there's his constant companion: a laptop computer. With a few keystrokes, the 47-year-old college dropout can tell how much water state reservoirs hold and exactly which electric transformers need repair.

Naidu has become a key figure in national politics. When India's 13-party ruling coalition partners bickered last April over the selection of a new prime minister, Naidu tipped the scales toward I. K. Gujral—though not before declining the top post himself. Still, many believe he *will* be prime minister one day, after he finishes the job in Andhra Pradesh.

CYBERGUIDE

If you want to get technical about it, AsTeR, the software invented by T. V. Raman, a computer scientist at Adobe Systems in California, stands for "Audio System for Technical Readings." But in truth, Raman—who is blind—really named it after his beloved seeing-eye Labrador. The software uses a series of audio cues to allow the listener to process electronic information, surf the Web and send e-mail. "Just as you boot your PC and get a visual desktop, I get an audio desktop," he says.

Raised in Pune, Raman lost the little sight he had by the time he was in high school. He didn't



The movie star: *At 27, Tabu has become a versatile actress and the leading lady of her generation*

let that hold him back. he graduated from the prestigious Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai, and went on to Cornell University in New York. He initially concentrated on robotics, toying with the idea of building a seeing-eye robot, but dropped the project after he got ASTER. "There is a lot of subtle communication between man and animal," he says. And when subtlety isn't called for, there's always ASTER.

A STAR IS BORN

For a while, it appeared that Tabu was fated to be a failed starlet. Her first Bollywood feature, "Prem" ("Love"), was held up for six years because producers ran out of funds. Once released, it bombed. During that time she made other movies, but a clause in her "Prem" contract kept them from being released. Fanzines delighted in reporting how Tabu's overly protective sister, a retired actress named Farha, scared off movie producers by speaking on Tabu's behalf. Tabu, in turn, developed a reputation as a publicity-shy wallflower. But in 1994 her vivacious performance in "Vijaypath" ("The Path of Victory") made her a star. The year after, "Maachis" ("Matchbox")—in which she played the plain, emotionally reserved fiancee of a Punjabi terrorist—proved her versatility as an actress. Now 27, she is the leading lady of her generation, playing village women and singing bombshells with equal ease. So much for the failed-starlet story line.

FOOTBALL HERO

It's a Cinderella story set in the world of Indian football. Baichung Bhutia grew up in a remote village in the north Indian state of Sikkim. Each day he trudged miles over hilly tracks to play soccer at his school in Gangtok, the state capital. He dropped out of school six years ago, but a pro who discovered him at a training camp organized by the State Bank of India persuaded the East Bengal Club of Calcutta to sign him. His big break came in 1993, when, sent in as a reserve in place of the regular striker, he scored the game's winning goal. Now 21, the versatile striker is the first footballer to command a fee of $50,000 per season—more than double what most players make. Last June he snagged the sports world's version of the glass slipper: Reebok signed him for an undisclosed sum to play in their shoes.

Cinderella story: *Bhutia*

MENDING HEARTS

With an estimated 2.5 million cases diagnosed each year, India has the world's highest incidence of heart disease. But thanks to surgeon Naresh Trehan, relief is on the way. After building a successful career in America at the New York University Medical Center, Trehan, 50, moved back home nine years ago and opened India's first heart institute. Funded by a group of New Delhi industrialists, the Escorts Heart Institute and Research Centre is a state-of-the-art facility where Trehan has already performed 12,500 open-heart surgeries. He has no regrets about leaving behind his lucrative U.S. practice. "The gratification that comes from helping Indian patients is much higher for me," he says. "In your own environment, you're involved—it is not just making a living."

His involvement is literally saving lives. Patients come from all over India, as well as from the far reaches of Southeast Asia, for Trehan's relatively inexpensive treatment. Those who can't pay are not required to. To keep his staff on top of the latest developments, Trehan has arranged an exchange program with NYU. He also offers screening and educational programs in remote villages. In fact, the Centre has been so well received that Trehan and his backers now plan to open six more facilities throughout the country. Anything to help get Indians' heart disease under control.

MR. TV

In the lobby of the Plus Channel building is a huge portrait with a slogan: [illegible] TOMORROW. That would be Amit Khanna, the 46-year-old TV producer-director-writer-lyricist-showman. When he launched Plus Channel more than a decade ago, Khanna had a vision of TV programming that went far beyond the boring fare served up on the government's network. To end-run the state's broadcasting monopoly, he began producing programs of business news, sports and gossip from the entertainment world—and selling them on videotape. In 1991, when Indian television was deregulated, Khanna stayed a producer, rather than fight for a piece of the overcrowded satellite-channel market. The result: programs made in Khanna's studios appear on all of India's major channels. Khanna is nobody's snob: he produces cleavage-and-treacle soap operas as well as highbrow dramas. And that, it seems, is what tomorrow is all about.

Vision: *Khanna*

GROOVE MERCHANT

As a Delhi-born teenager in Birmingham, England, Bally Sagoo hated *bhangra*, the musi-

cal blend of Indian folk and funk that his parents listened to. He would shut the door to his bedroom—he called it "Currywood Studios"—to mix R&B and soul tapes. Now 32, the deejay-producer-composer has learned to love bhangra—by reinventing it. On his albums—his eighth, "Rising From the East," was released last year—he mixes tablas with sax and blends a hip-hop beat with classical Indian vocals. His sound travels: his music is a club mainstay among Asians from New York to Mumbai. "Asian people love Western sounds," says Sagoo. "They love hip-hop, soul and house music. And when they hear it with an Eastern touch, they go even more crazy."

Pricey: *Bal and models*

STYLEMEISTER

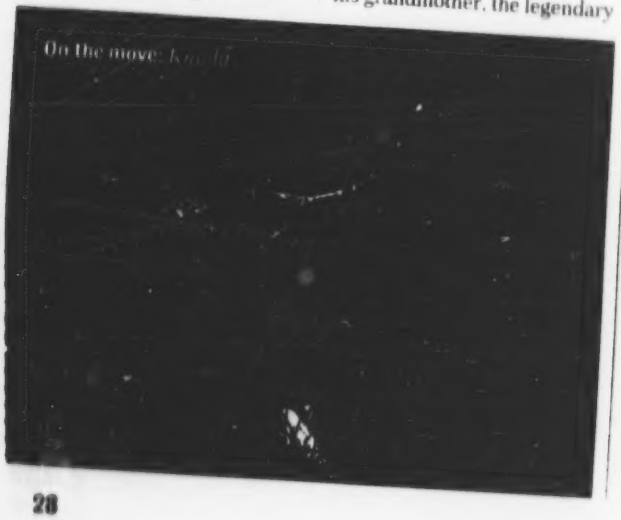
Rohit Bal resembles neither an Indian nor a fashion designer. He has light brown hair, gray-blue eyes and a first-class honors degree in history. But clothing is his passion, and he has turned it into a lucrative profession. Blending history, fantasy and folklore, Bal, 36, has created a line of dazzling, wearable clothing that is uniquely Indian. He favors natural fabrics, as well as traditional motifs and techniques of dyeing, embroidery and weaving. His talent lies in remaking traditional costumes into something trendy, even sexy: a sari wrapped only around the lower torso, for instance.

Bal never trained as a designer. But growing up in Kashmir, he says, "I was madly in love with clothes. I looked at them the way other young men look at cars." At 16, he was cutting his own Nehru jackets and flipping through Vogue magazine. Soon after, he joined his brother's garment business and created a line of men's traditional designer wear, reviving things like turbans. After several successful [illegible] collections, he moved on to women's wear. Now most of his clients are wealthy younger women and nonresident Indians who can afford his prices, which run as high as $15,000 per outfit. Too much for you? At the other end of the Indian fashion market, you can still find local tailors who'll custom-make a suit for $10.

ON HIS FEET

Aniruddha Knight has tough footsteps to follow in—literally. He is the 10th generation in a gifted line of classical *bharat natyam* dancers that includes his grandmother, the legendary Balasaraswati, and his mother Lakshmi. But the self-possessed 16-year-old seems up to the challenge: last week he made his American debut to warm reviews at the prestigious Jacob's Pillow dance festival in Massachusetts.

At 6 feet 1, Ani is exuberant, striking and graceful. Like his mother, he comes to dance as a musician: he sings and plays the flute. Lakshmi, a classically trained singer who now teaches dance, says of her son: "He *feels* it; he has an intuitive understanding of dance." Four years ago Lakshmi and Ani's American father, Doug Knight, moved from America to Madras, in part so Ani could become "culturally fluent." Now they are back in America again so Ani can take music lessons from his great-uncle Vishwa at Wesleyan University. They're keeping it all in the family.



On the move: *Knight*

BAD-BOY ACADEMIC

Economic historian Sanjay Subrahmanyam has acquired a reputation as an *enfant terrible* of Indian academia. He's certainly got the enfant part down: at 36—the age when many Ph.D. candidates are still proofreading their theses—he's written and edited 12 books, taught on three continents and landed the job of director of studies at the prestigious Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He's ticked off the old guard by challenging the long-cherished notion of official secularism. "To be a defender of official Indian secularism means that one has to be a part of a sort of mishmash of Stalinism, Indira Gandhi camp follower, a diffuse category which is everything other than Hindu," he told the magazine Outlook in 1996. Most recently, in "The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama," he's stripped away the myths built around the 16th-century Portuguese explorer, traditionally viewed as the first European imperialist in India. Legend has cast da Gama as a sort of cross between Christ and Alexander the Great; Subrahmanyam chronicles his bad temper. "The Indian history establishment is linked to official institutions and an official line on Indian history," he says. "I haven't played the game."

Working 16-hour days: *Bhartia*

MEDIA MOGUL

When Shobhana Bhartia started taking an interest in the family-owned newspaper, the Hindustan Times, many of her colleagues thought she was simply a rich housewife with too little to do. "People thought I was coming to the office just to pass time," she recalls. "But I went through the grind of learning the basics. Soon I was being taken seriously." Very seriously indeed. A decade later, the 40-year-old Bhartia (who had an arranged marriage at 18) is a media baroness. She is executive director of the Hindustan Times, the capital's largest-circulation English daily, and runs both a television company, Home TV, and India's largest news agency, Press Trust of India. A mother of two and a member of the prominent Birla family, Bhartia is a hands-on mogul, working 16-hour days to shape the lifestyle and health sections of the paper. A current goal: to launch new editions of the Hindustan Times in other cities. Big country, but she's up to it. ■

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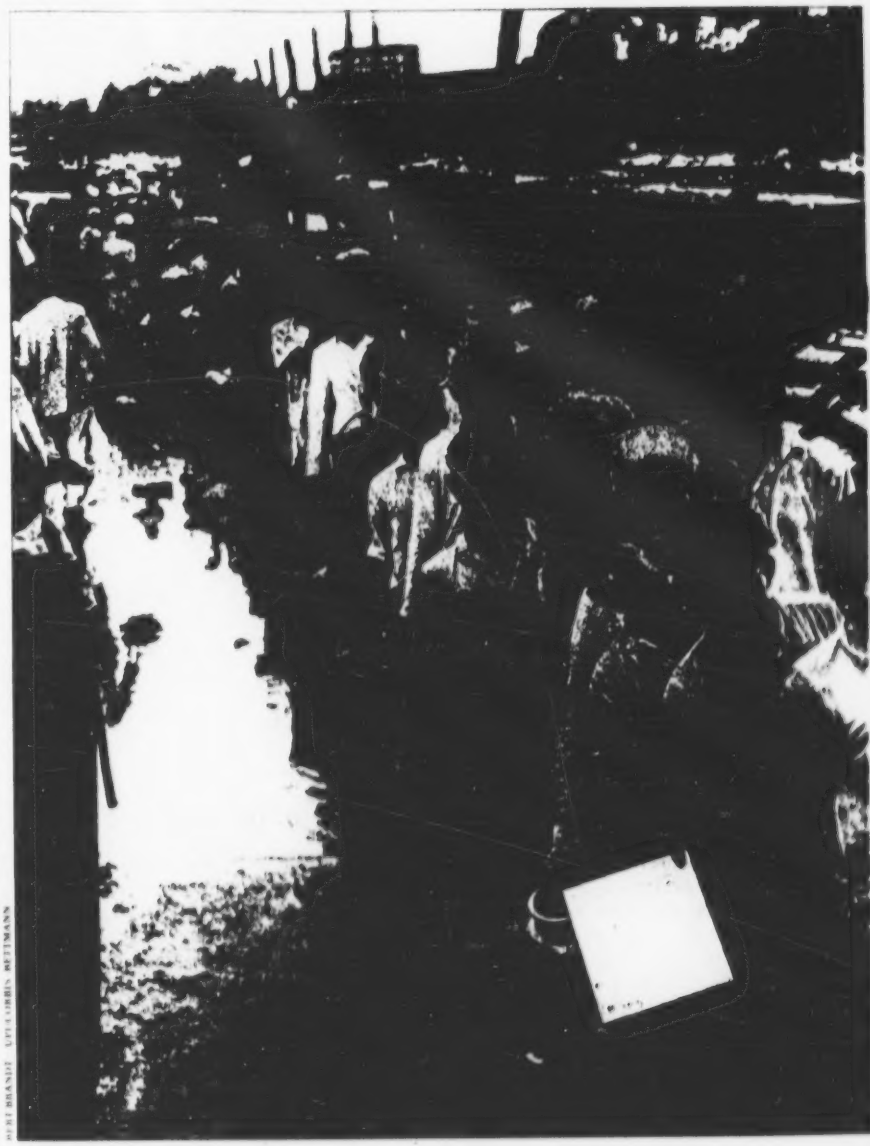
A Jubilee Without Joy

A veteran correspondent in the region visits another nation that's hitting the half-century mark—Pakistan

BY TONY CLIFTON

A CASUAL VISITOR to Pakistan would hardly guess it's the country's golden jubilee [illegible] cheerless capital, Islamabad, with less than a month to go before the Aug. 14 anniversary, the only visible reminder of the date was the big "50" emblazoned on the noses of the national airline's planes. The local papers barely mention the occasion, their front pages are too jammed with news of rising sectarian bloodshed and street crime. People haven't forgotten the country's birthday. But they have neither the money nor the mood for a big celebration. There won't even be a grand military parade on Aug. 14—a remarkable omission in a country with such a tradition of uniformed pomp. Instead a procession of young Pakistanis will troop to the Karachi tomb of the nation's venerated founder, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who died only a year after independence. Most other Pakistanis will mark the day with one fervent prayer: that the next 50 years may be less bloody, oppressive and miserable than the last 50.

I wish them luck. I have covered this



A painful birth: *Muslims taking refuge from Hindu rioters near New Delhi, 1947*

A devastating record of fratricide: *A half-million people may have died in the ruinous 1971 war between West and East Pakistan*

complex and contrary place since early 1971. In those years I have met dozens of brave men and women who stood against the worst sort of abuse from the government and the military. I have never noticed any prejudice against me as a foreigner or as a non-Muslim, and I have made many good friends who remain close after two decades or more.

I have also witnessed some of Pakistan's worst outbursts of bloodshed and cruelty. Anyone who spends much time in Pakistan is sure to come into close contact with death and suffering. I covered the fratricidal 1971 war in which East Pakistan became the independent nation of Bangladesh—at a cost of possibly a half-million people killed by the West Pakistani army and millions of others driven from their homes into refugee camps near Calcutta. Six years later I was in Pakistan during the mass uprising against the repressive regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. One of my most vivid memories is the thud of a police bullet as it hit and killed a boy standing next to me at a demonstration in Lahore. Under a blazing sun in Sindh province in 1981, I watched a group of Bhutto supporters as they limped to their hanged leader's tomb. Instead of flowers they brought their shirts, stiff with their own blood. Their backs had been flogged raw by the dictatorship of Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq. Zia seized power from Bhutto, jailed him and in 1979 put him to death for murder and other crimes.

THE INCESSANT VIOLENCE IS only one aspect of the national tragedy. Pakistan has never had an elected government that survived long enough to be voted out of office. The country has spent half its life under military dictatorships. Soldiers outnumber doctors 9 to 1. More than half the population is illiterate. (In Baluchistan province only 2 percent of the women can read and write.) Per capita economic growth is approximately zero. The Treasury is worse off than broke—it owes roughly $30 billion to domestic creditors and another $30 billion abroad. Graft is so shameless that Transparency International, the German-based monitoring group, has named Pakistan as one of the five most corrupt countries in the world.

All the same, I have never heard anyone in Pakistan say his country should have stayed a part of India. The older people have made sure to tell their children and grandchildren about the pain and humiliation of life as a Muslim in the predominantly Hindu British colony. Railway stations had drinking-water pitchers labeled "Hindu water" and "Muslim water." "A Muslim could start a race riot merely by touching the Hindu water pitcher," says Mushahid Hussain, 45, Pakistan's director of anniversary activities. "Muslims lived under double colonialism—British colonialism and Hindu colonialism." Gen. Khalid Mahmud Arif, deputy chief of Pakistan's army in the 1980s and now retired, was 17 when the Raj was partitioned and his family fled from the city of Batala, in the Indian Punjab. "With my children and grandchildren around me, I thank almighty Allah for the freedom we got 50 years ago," he declares. "I'm not a second-class citizen in my own country."

Other than that, few Pakistanis see much reason for celebrating. "I'm ashamed that Pakistan hasn't been governed so well," General Arif confesses. My friend Najam Sethi, 50, crusading editor of Lahore's Friday Times, describes his own mood as "just grim." "The good news is that we have a form of elective democracy, and I can write about it," he says. "We have good people, and we're not ruled by the military. And after that, it's all bad news." Rizwan Ahmed, a respected biographer of Jinnah, says the independence leader would be sorely disappointed to see how badly the country has failed to live up to his vision. "There is no doubt," the author says. "What Mr. Jinnah

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wanted is to be found now[illegible] in Pakistan."

Everyone agrees that Pakistan would surely be a better place if Jinnah hadn't died so soon. "His first priority was self-respect for all human beings—Muslims, Hindus, everyone," says Rizwan, 62, who met Jinnah a half-century ago and still recalls his piercing gaze. "You had to look down," says the biographer. "You felt that powerful rays were being directed at you." Even after becoming the first leader of independent Pakistan, Jinnah set an example of meticulous honesty by insisting on paying for his own note paper and ink. Next door in India, the charismatic Jawaharlal Nehru was able to guide his own land until his death in 1964. Nehru left behind a strong, secular democracy with an army that has never tried to grab power. Had Jinnah lived long enough, he might well have accomplished at least as much for Pakistan.

That didn't happen. "After Mr. Jinnah's death, adventurists took over and brought our country to virtual ruin, politically and economically," recalls the leader's former secretary Sharifuddin Pirzada, 74. Before Pakistan reached its 25th birthday, the country dissolved into civil war. When Pakistan held its first general election in 1970, a West Pakistani feudal landlord, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, hoped to become prime minister. His ambition was thwarted by an East Pakistani named Sheik Mujibur Rahman. Rather than accept his loss, Bhutto colluded with the army to launch a murderous crackdown. "A real genocide took place," recalls my friend Moudud Ahmed, a Cambridge-educated lawyer who worked with Mujib. "The army killed Bengalis, thinking they were inferior, disobedient, uncultured and uneducated. They killed their fellow Muslims. They raped Muslim women. And Bhutto watched it all begin from his hotel suite. ... The next day he flew back to Karachi and announced, 'Allah has saved Pakistan.'" The carnage ended only after India's army intervened and made possible the creation of an independent Bangladesh.

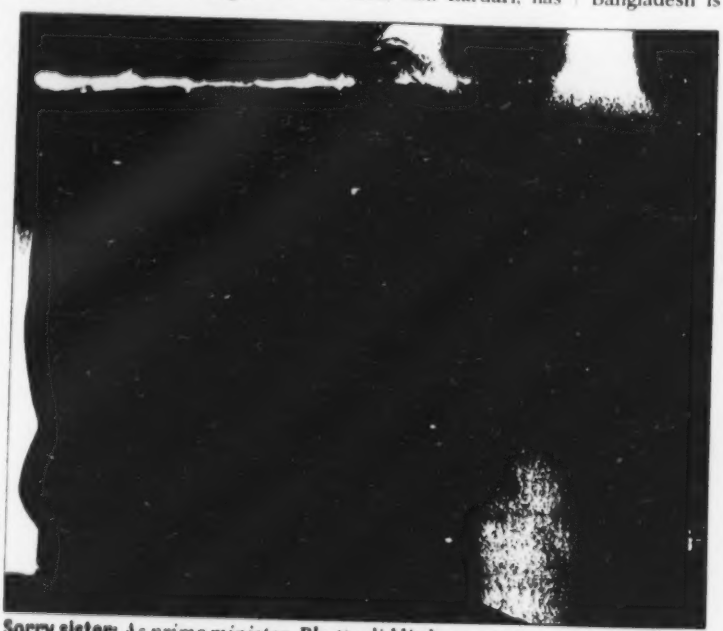
The loss only sharpened Bhutto's hunger for power. He devastated his country further by abruptly embarking on a massive program of nationalization. Eventually he was supplanted by General Zia, who pushed the country even deeper into the darkness, especially by repealing women's rights. In one famous case that was tried under Zia's new laws, a blind woman complained to police that she had been gang-raped. She said she recognized her attackers from their voices, so the case went to trial. In court she was asked to point out the men who had raped her. She said she couldn't because she was blind. The case was dismissed. The woman was charged with adultery, convicted and flogged for her "crime."

BHUTTO'S DAUGHTER BENAZIR served twice as prime minister without ever making a move to scrap those laws. Before coming to power, she inspired the Pakistani people to rise up against the abuses of military rule. In office she did practically nothing to improve the country, whether economically, politically or socially. Her worst misfortune is that she is now far more closely identified with corruption than with courage. Her husband, Asif Zardari, has been accused of helping his friends to loot Pakistan's public institutions on a scale unrivaled almost anywhere else in the world. Pakistani analysts have estimated the coterie's total haul at several billion dollars. Zardari has vehemently denied any wrongdoing—including any role in the murder of his brother-in-law, Murtaza Bhutto, who was shot dead last year.

You can find booklets of Jinnah's sayings for sale in shops all over Pakistan. You're not so likely to find his thoughts put into practice. Fifty years ago, for example, Jinnah warned factory owners and feudal landlords to stop abusing the poor. "The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood," he said. "They have forgotten the lessons of Islam." Yet that appeal to justice and equality seems to have stayed forgotten. The exploitation goes on as blatantly as ever.

Jinnah also preached the rights of women. "No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you," he said. Yet women are certainly not side by side with men today. Mostly they stay at home, out of sight. Probably only about 15 percent of Pakistani women are truly literate—meaning they can read a book or write a letter. Asma Jahangir, 45, a civil-rights lawyer in Lahore, says the lack of education isn't merely a result of poverty. "I see rich landlords and powerful feudal chieftains whose daughters are totally illiterate," she says. "Their fathers don't want them to be taught."

The lazy and the malicious may blame Islam for Pakistan's troubles. It's not true. Bangladesh is a Muslim country, and its women are taking a major role in building a vibrant



Sorry sister: *As prime minister, Bhutto did little to raise women's status*

ful economy. Malaysia and Indonesia are likewise predominantly Muslim, and they're two of Asia's most dynamic economies. Unlike Pakistan (and Bangladesh), the latter two have never had a woman leader—but they do have an abundance of well-educated women working outside their homes. No one sees much chance that Pakistan will follow their example any time soon. There's no political advantage in challenging the rural reactionaries who have controlled the countryside for centuries—or in bucking the Taliban-style firebrands who are increasingly visible everywhere else in Pakistan.

And yet in many ways it's just as hard to accept the thought that Pakistan could continue along its present course. The epic corruption, the political instability, the economic stagnation, the violence—all those problems are interdependent, and together they are a blight on Pakistan's soul, a shackle on its dreams and a curse on its children. No one can predict the country's future. Too many conflicting forces are pushing the country in too many contradictory directions. The biggest certainty is that unless the people of Pakistan can somehow recapture Jinnah's idealistic spirit, 2047 will be another year of gloom.

With FAZAL QURESHI *in Karachi*

The Jewel

FIFTY YEARS AGO, AT MIDNIGHT ON AUG. 15, 1947, INDIA gained its independence from the British Empire, and one of history's most romantic links was broken.

For more than three centuries Britons had been living and working in India—for a century they had ruled nearly all of it. Islanders on the other side of the world had come to think of India as part of their own national identity, a permanent presence in the public consciousness, at once exotic and familiar. Innumerable British families, of all social rank, had sent their representatives to India, as soldiers, as business people, as administrators, as ne'er-do-well younger sons or as pious missionaries. So distant and so different, India was embedded [illegible] the British psyche: it was not only the Jewel in the Imperial Crown, as a favorite Victorianism had it, it was the regimental group on the parlor wall, the Benares brass tray in Aunt Ethel's sitting room, the frontier-campaign medal in its glass-fronted case, the row of black wooden elephants marching across a thousand suburban mantelpieces.

So the break in the link was more than simply politics. It was like a family parting, and even now the poignancy is not quite gone. Fifty years on, an ectoplasmic kind of bond still connects those offshore Europeans with the multitudes of the Indian subcontinent—itself long ago split, with bloodshed and recrimination, into the three states of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Several European countries have had their overseas empires, and Britain is not alone in maintaining particular associations with former subject-nations—Francophone Africa, for instance, still looks to France for cultural inspiration, economic support and quite often military intervention, while Spaniards often regard the whole of Latin America as their sphere of influence still. Only the British, however, seem to be linked with a lost possession by a kind of mystical osmosis.

In India, the British found their grandest opponents and their best friends. Fifty years on, the spell of the Raj is unbroken.

BY JAN MORRIS

When I was a child only intellectuals thought the British dominion of India had anything wicked to it. On the contrary, it was generally thought to be a providential bestowal of civilized values upon a backward and doubtless grateful conglomeration of peoples. Everyone knew that there were highly educated Indians, immensely rich Indians, Indian gentlemen too; but in general Indians were benighted heathens and unfortunates, Hindus, Muslims and such, and it was a sort of natural justice that Britons should go out and rule them.

And when the British thought of India, they were thinking of the whole imperial enterprise. For many people the empire *was* India. The white settlement colonies had always bored the people of the Motherland. The figure of the bwana sweating it out in Africa, Sanders of the River or Jock of the Bushveld, paled beside the image of the Bengal Lancer, turbaned and jackbooted, among his ferociously devoted sepoys. The imperial pride of the British revolved around the possession of India: when they greeted the King-Emperor George VI, they were greeting him as King of England and Emperor of India, the two British sovereignties that really counted.

By the 1960s attitudes had greatly changed. Progressive socialism was the prevailing ideology; imperialism was generally linked with class; now the conventional wisdom was that empire was thoroughly bad—all bullying, all exploitation. Younger educated Britons began to question their imperial heritage, and the sudden appearance of countless Indians and Pakistanis on the streets of Britain, swiftly taking over the local grocery stores,

MARY EVANS PICTURE LIBRARY

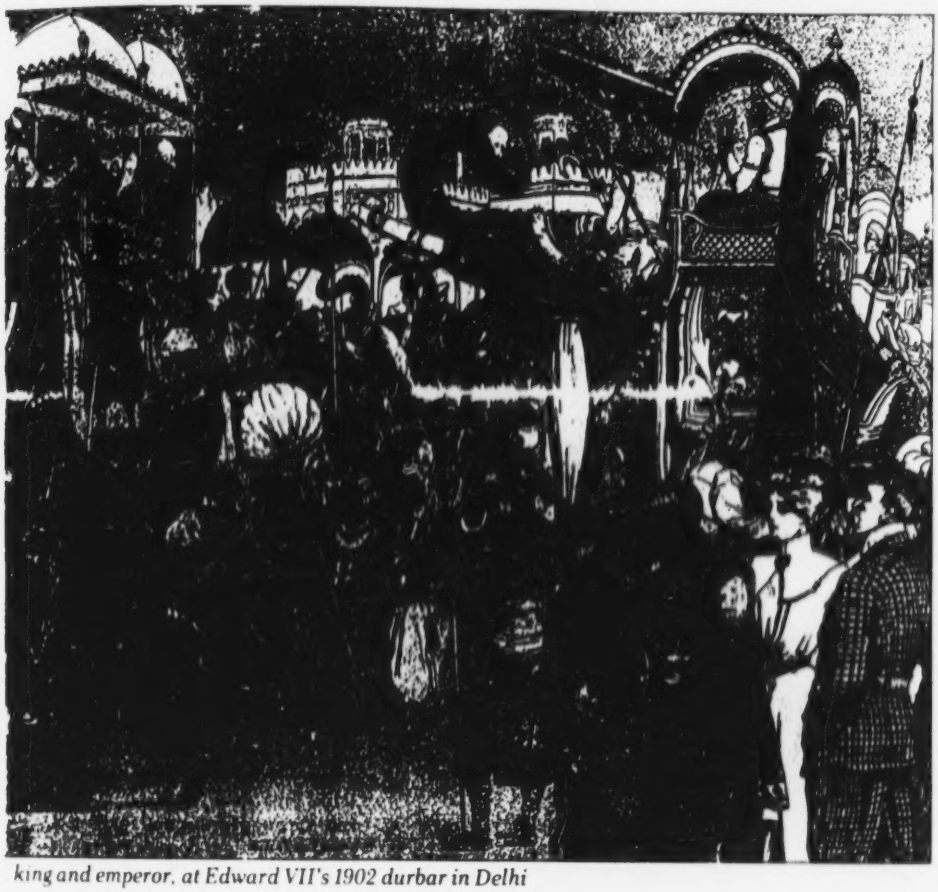
When the sun never set: *Elephants and lancers*

and frequently proving formidably successful entrepreneurs, helped to confirm their doubts.

Now the British presence in India turned out to have been a more equivocal experience after all—not quite how Granddad used to describe it when he came home with his battalion after a couple of years in the cantonments. There was a new enthrallment to dramas which showed Britons being very unpleasant in India, as well as awfully noble. Old India hands were often outraged; a younger generation began to see the British Empire, which had reached its tremendous apogee in India, as a stain on the national record.

Embarrassment now colored the British attitude, and, as so often happens, it was

masked in comedy. The figure of the Anglo-Indian sahib in his topee and his Sam Browne, accepting a sundowner from his faithful bearer or sitting in justice upon recalcitrant tribesmen on the Himalayas, was once a proud icon of imperial responsibilities. Now he became a figure of fun. His mustache grew bushier, his topee ridiculously large, he pompously brandished a fly whisk and he talked in an accent so posh as to be almost unintelligible.



king and emperor, at Edward VII's 1902 durbar in Delhi

Was this really the glamorous empire builder who had so captivated the nation a generation or two before? The real thing had died by now; the last colonel of the Mahratta Rifles had gone to his grave in Cheltenham or Kensington. The few historians who still championed the merits of empire attracted small audiences and skeptical reviews. Even Rudyard Kipling, the poet laureate of Anglo-India and the British Empire, went disastrously out of fashion. By the 1970s the very word "empire" had become disreputable.

And yet ... Today the majority of Britons were born after 1947. Men and women in their late 50s remember nothing of the British Empire except what their parents and grandparents boringly told them, and have never experienced the old *frisson* of seeing the map of the world sploshed all over with the imperial red. India is just another foreign country, a great place for adventurous holidays, and in the public mind your archetypal native of the Subcontinent is the kindly lady in the sari selling you onions at the corner shop, or possibly the brown-skinned yob making a nuisance of himself in the amusement parlor. There is plenty of ethnic prejudice in Britain, and much of it is directed at the Indians, the Pakistanis and the Bangladeshis.

And yet ... Few British families still have Indian connections, but the old fascination has been stoked down the years by an almost incessant flow of public allusions—in novels, in plays, in films, in television series. Britain's long adventure in India makes for wonderfully evocative art. For a time it seemed that the derring-do of the North-West Frontier might provide a kind of homegrown substitute for the American West, and ever since E. M. Forster's "Passage to India" the love-hate relationship between the imperialists and their subjects has enthralled British artists. One of the literary successes of the 1960s and 1970s was Paul Scott's "Raj Quartet," a work about Anglo-India at the time of independence which was later to be turned into a wildly popular television series, "The Jewel in the Crown."

Whenever those old images of the Raj are revived, and the India of the British Empire lives again in books or on television screens, audiences of millions still eagerly lap it all up. This is especially true this year, because 1997 is the Retro-Year of Empire. One hundred years ago the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria was famously celebrated as the grand apogee of the imperial idea. Fifty years ago India broke the link. And on July 1, 1997, the last great outpost of them all, the spectacular island-colony of Hong Kong, reverted to the rule of communist China.

So just at the moment the idea of empire is alive in British minds. A Museum of Empire is coming into being at Bristol. "The Jewel in the Crown" is being shown again. Talk shows, newspaper columns, pundits of all kinds are reassessing the meaning of the imperial enterprise, and as Hong Kong returns to the unpredictable grasp of Beijing, even the most dogmatic of the progressives are beginning to wonder if there was not some good to the British Empire after all.

But still more powerful, I think, is that old latent spell of the Anglo-Indian connection. They may not always know why—it may be no more than an inherited instinct—but still British people feel a slight tug of the heart when the idea of India comes into their lives. Theirs was not always a happy relationship with India, but it was full of mutual fascination, and ennobled by generosity. In India the British found the grandest of their opponents, in Mahatma Gandhi, and some of the best of their friends: in India they not only made many fortunes but did many good things, too, and proved that imperialism could be a grand force for virtue as well as for evil.

Besides, I suspect that in their bones, rather than in their minds, many Britons still pine for the exotic splendors of that lost dominion in the East, the gold and the glitter of it, the great trains of empire steaming across the dusty plains, the morning gallop and the evening gin and tonic, the curries, the comradeship and the glory of command. When the drizzle falls in Leatherhead or Wolverhampton, still the bugles sometimes sound, far away in the folk memory.

MORRIS *is the author of a history of the British Empire.*

Songs and Silent Rage

FOR THOSE WHO DIDN'T LIVE THROUGH IT, THE MOST STRIKING THING ABOUT INDEPENDENCE is the sense of precision. A line drawn on a map, as neat as a surgeon's incision, makes two countries from one subcontinent. A clock strikes midnight, and a 200-year-old empire is over. History, however, is never precise. Independence was less an event than an era. Partition, and the years leading up to it, was less a collective memory than a series of personal recollections. A sampling of reminiscences from those who were there.

DURCA BHABHI

In the years leading up to 1947, Bhabhi, now 90 and living in Ghaziabad near Delhi, belonged to Naujawan Bharat Sabha, or the Young India Council. After Bhagat Singh, the council's founder, was hanged by the British in 1931, Bhabhi and two comrades plotted revenge.

There was a British officer in Bombay—whose name I can't remember anymore—who was notorious for his cruelty to Indians. It was a warm Wednesday morning, and the car carrying the British officer on his daily route to his office approached a roundabout in south Bombay. There were some policemen with him in the car. We were waiting under the porch of a building. As the car neared I raised my revolver—which was hidden under my sari—and fired a few shots. Later I heard that we had killed a policeman instead of the officer. There was a massive search for us. To evade arrest I went to Varanasi, Lucknow, Allahabad and finally Delhi, staying everywhere with acquaintances of my comrades. In every place I was given a new name and new identity. In some places I was a sister, in others I was sister-in-law. For nearly three years I lived a life of a fugitive. During that period I kept contact with my comrades, visiting them in prison and carrying their messages out. The British couldn't catch me, because there was no photograph to identify me. Finally I started a school for girls. That gave me a totally new identity.

ROBERT WALLIS—SABA

Killed a policeman: Bhabhi

EDWARD BEHR

Later a distinguished journalist and filmmaker, Behr served in the Indian Army.

A child at w[illegible] teered for the Indian Army at 17, and in August 1947 was the "acting," "temporary" brigade major of Peshawar Frontier Brigade Group—four infantry battalions and one tank battalion. Peshawar, at the time, was a tiny microcosm of India—a town of some 200,000 people including a sizable ethnic minority of Hindus and Sikhs, living cheek by jowl alongside the Muslim majority. Three weeks after partition, wave after wave of armed Pathans swept into Peshawar from the neighboring tribal areas, systematically massacring Hindus and Sikhs and looting their homes. From Sept. 7 to 17, in Peshawar City, some 800 bodies were recovered a day.

This happened because Mountbatten, the viceroy, ignored the increasingly desperate warning signals sent to him and partitioned India before the reorganization of the Indian and Pakistani armies had been completed. Within the ruling British Indian establishment, there was a highly influential body of senior officials whose sympathies were unabashedly pro-Pakistan.

By Aug. 15, there were few troops left in Peshawar. A newly formed Punjab battalion of Muslims from former Indian

'The political stage at that time was full of characters custom-made for the cartoonist': *Laxman*

Army units, posted to the town in early September, and traumatized by what they had witnessed on their way by train to Peshawar (Sikhs butchering Muslims), had scarcely settled into their new barracks before they went on a rampage themselves. They opened fire on a neighboring Sikh unit still awaiting repatriation to India. This left only a handful of troops, almost all of them Pathans, to try and save Peshawar's Hindu and Sikh minority from the marauding, murdering tribesmen swarming into town. Many, to their credit, did try and stop the violence. Others — including the Peshawar police — looked the other way. I was compelled to open fire on tribesmen caught butchering Hindu nurses in the courtyard of Peshawar's Military Hospital. To my knowledge, none of the tribesmen were ever brought to justice, though, as a personal favor to me, Peshawar's chief of police, fearing for my life, kept them in jail until the November day I left for England — and demobilization.

INDRANI RAHMAN

An Indian classical dancer, Rahman fell in love with and married a Muslim architect in the United States before sailing back to India with him a year before independence.

I was 16, newly married and pregnant when my husband, Habib, and I landed in Bombay. We arrived just as the Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in Calcutta, where Habib's family lived. We were very worried because there was no communication by phone or telegram, so we decided to go straight to Calcutta. But nobody was going there. The train was empty. Our arrival in Calcutta was very dreary. When we got out of the horse-drawn carriage that took us to Park Circus, the Muslim area where Habib's family home was, we were greeted by tears instead of the traditional welcome for a new bride. There were no groceries in the house. It was a great disappointment to me because my Hindu father, living in the U.S., had told me that there was no Hindu-Muslim problem — that it was all British propaganda.

'Dreary': *Rahman*

AMARTYA SEN

Sen is the Lamont University Professor of Economics and Philosophy at Harvard University, and the Master-Elect of Trinity College, Cambridge.

In 1947, I was a high-school student in Shantiniketan. On the eve of independence, we glued ourselves to the radio to hear Nehru's famous "tryst with destiny" speech at midnight. "The task ahead," he told us, included "the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity." The memory of the 1943 famine was still very fresh in Bengal. We had all seen famine. Even though we had not suffered ourselves, we'd seen people dying all around us. We were very excited about independence and argued for hours afterwards whether things would really change and how this would be achieved. Democracy has been a major success and famines have been eliminated. But illiteracy in India is overwhelming, and social inequality has been a great handicap for the country and the economy.

'Nightmarish': *Gujral*

SATISH GUJRAL

A Hindu architect born in Lahore, Gujral's brother Inder is prime minister of India.

Aug. 15, 1947, lives in memory because no other date is as nightmarish. Weeks before, I had gone to a refugee camp in Lahore. The inner city had been burning for months, but the killings and lootings had not spread to my neighborhood. Then, the whole town was engulfed. Thousands poured into the camp by the hour; yet, despite the increasing tales of horror and brutalities brought by each new wave, few of us believed that the uprooting from our homes would be final. We hoped and expected the "Boundary Commission" to award Lahore to India. Overnight, on Aug. 13, posters appeared on every wall, pleading, DO NOT BURN. THIS IS NOW PAKISTAN'S PROPERTY. On the morning of Aug. 14, Pakistan became a country we were shocked to our foundations. Rejected by the land of our birth that had now fallen under a hostile regime, we could not see what lay ahead for us on the other side, where we were destined to spend our lives — if we survived the holocaust. I will never forget my introverted, God-fearing father — who had just resigned from the Constituent Assembly of Undivided India and who was asked to evacuate Hindus to India — sitting huddled, with his eyes shut. I wondered then, to whom, in his silent rage, he was addressing his prayers.

R. K. LAXMAN

Cartoonist Laxman is perhaps India's most popular political commentator.

I was greatly excited by independence and the promise of secular democracy. I was 18, had just graduated and come to Bombay and The Times of India, where I have been for the past 50 years. Ever since I was 3, I wanted to become a cartoonist, and I've been doing political cartoons since I was 11. I

live by politics and the political stage at that time was full of characters custom-made for the cartoonist: Gandhi with his large ears, puckish toothless smile, bald head and his very original sartorial choice; and Nehru, handsome and tall, confident and ready for the "tryst with destiny."

KRISHNA REDDY

A printmaker and sculptor who worked with Henry Moore and Mario Marini, Reddy has lived in New York since 1976.

I had been very active in *satyagraha* [the nonviolence movement] as a college kid in the south. On Independence Day, I was 22, and a student in the art school at Shantiniketan, the university founded by the poet Rabindranath Tagore. We celebrated at dawn by singing Tagore's poems about independence. That night, the Santhals [local tribals] came and celebrated with us. We danced together, Santhal style, hand in hand.

Communist: *Azmi*

KAIFI AZMI

A revolutionary secular Urdu poet, atheist and member of the Progressive Writers Group in Mumbai, Azmi went underground during the Quit India movement, and was jailed after independence for participating in political strikes.

People were dancing on the streets that day. I was dancing with my friends and comrades. I was a communist living in a commune then and I'm still a card-carrying communist. My comrades and I were all Nehruites—there was a left-wing branch in the Congress. We were all so very happy to be free at last. I was born in *ghulam Hindustan* ("slave India"). I have lived in *azad Hindustan* ("free India") and I hope to die in socialist India.

ZARINA HASHMI

A sculptor and Muslim feminist, Hashmi married an Indian diplomat and lives in New York.

I was 10 and living in Aligarh, where my father was proctor of the university. We were very excited when we first got word about independence. But we were also very scared, because Aligarh was a Muslim enclave, and there were rumors about schemes to destroy it; people feared that "mobs" were coming. Many came to hide in our house and in the mosque. We could see neighboring villages on fire. Our euphoria over independence combined with a fear that Muslims may not be safe. Then, in the beginning of 1948, very shortly after independence, things settled down, and 1948 to 1958 (when I left India) were the most beautiful years. There was so much optimism—India was socialist and secular. But now we feel betrayed. The promises made at independence have not been kept. Still, I wouldn't exchange that period for anything.

Nehru was his hero: *Shankar*

RAVI SHANKAR

Now 77, Shankar is a classical musician, who taught the sitar to Beatle George Harrison and recorded with Yehudi Menuhin

I was in Bombay, and I wish we'd had TV then. We could have watched independence live, as we now see Mars. But we listened to the radio at midnight and heard Pandit Nehru's famous speech. Panditji was our superhero. I had just composed the music for the ballet based on his book "The Discovery of India," and all our leaders including Gandhiji himself came to see it. There were 50,000 people in the *pandal* that night and Nehru said of the ballet, "It's better than my book!" I had joined the Indian National Theatre under the Congress, and composed new music for Iqbal's song, *"Saare jahaan se achchhaa, hindostaan hamaaraa"*—"Our India is better than the whole world"—which was to become the most popular song, second only to the national anthem.

NAUSHAD ALI

A Bollywood music director, Naushad composed popular music for hit songs for decades.

Much blood was spilt for our independence. The communal riots killed more people than an all-out war might have. We paid a heavy price and won only physical independence. Today we are still enslaved because we ape the West. Our great artists, our wonderful Indian culture is now gone. Is this what we fought for? ■

'Today we are still enslaved because we ape the West': *Bollywood music director Naushad Ali*

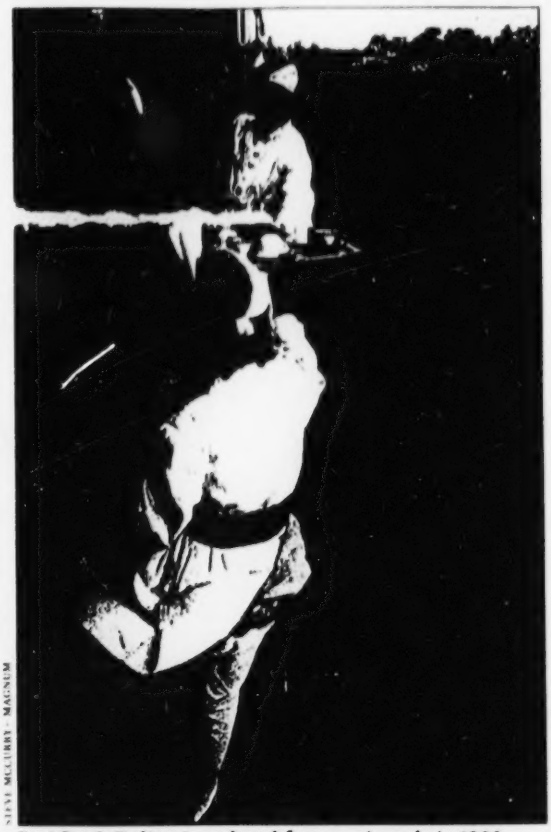
From the Old to the New

Fifty years after independence, socialism and secularism are in retreat. Some of the changes in India are overdue, others worrisome. All are unstoppable. BY FAREED ZAKARIA

IT IS SURELY ONE OF THE GREAT SPEECHES OF THE century. India's Gettysburg Address. Jawaharlal Nehru's stirring announcement of Indian independence was, like Abraham Lincoln's speech, a consecration of both victory and tragedy (about as many died in India's bloody partition as did in the Civil War), and, like Lincoln's, it gave voice to a new nation. Nehru saw Aug. 15, 1947, as a watershed, marking the end of two centuries of European dominion and the rebirth of an ancient civilization: "A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance."

On reading these words now, however, one is struck by how much better they apply to India than they did 50 years ago. During the past decade, India has been rediscovering herself, casting off a mantle designed abroad for one more distinctly homespun. As the nation moves into the 21st century it will in all likelihood be less socialist, less secular, less centralized and less Anglicized than it has been since independence.

It is often remarked that Nehru was the last Englishman to rule India. He was indeed a product of England's great institutions—Harrow, Cambridge, the London bar—but Nehru spent many more years in His Majesty's prisons than in his schools. He was, above all, an Indian nationalist. But his conception of nationalism was entirely European, a product of Enlightenment ideas about self-determination, liberalism and rationalism in politics. He and his generation of "freedom fighters" created a new India that was secular, democratic and republican, with a strong, centralized state that defined the nation and directed, in a socialist fashion, its economic development. It was a model an English Labour Party leader could have created.



STEVE MCCURRY MAGNUM

Fast food: *Delivering a breakfast tray in style in 1986*

In the past 10 years the founding conception of Indian nationalism—embodied by the Congress party—has been steadily eroded by what V. S. Naipaul has called "a million little mutinies": Hindu pride, lower-caste empowerment, a rising bourgeoisie, regional assertiveness. Perhaps the most powerful of these forces are capitalism and religion—an unlikely combination.

For 40 years India's mixed economy was famously inefficient. One of the saddest of many sad statistics: in 1986 the Steel Authority of India employed 247,000 people to produce 6 million tons of steel while South Korea's privately owned Pohan Steel paid 10,000 people to make 14 million tons. But things have changed. The free-market reforms of 1991 have unleashed a market revolution. India's private sector is growing by leaps and bounds. The quality and quantity of goods available to consumers and businesses have shot up. Foreign investment is moving in slowly but steadily. Whether or not India grows fast enough to become another "Asian tiger" (about 7 percent a year is the magic number), capitalism is already remaking India's economy and, perhaps more important, its society.

The effects are striking. Visit a city or town in India and *everybody* is on the make. People who once sought government jobs, with security and low salaries, now look for business opportunities, franchises and financing. A society that has, for thousands of years, honored the status of the state, of princes and of caste now exalts the market.

It is no coincidence that just as the socialist basis of India's nationalism is being challenged, so is its secularism. The two are part of the same old order. The years since 1992 have seen the rise of a powerful Hindu nationalist party, the destruction of mosques and religious riots. Perhaps most important, it has become acceptable to articulate a Hindu fundamentalism unthinkable 25 years ago. The danger of religious conflict haunted India's founding generation. (Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic who felt betrayed by Gandhi's "appeasement" of the Muslims.) Indira Gandhi amended the preamble to the Indian Constitution to add the word "secular" to its description of the state. That ideal seems far away today. Outside of a highly cosmopolitan, urban elite, the younger generation of Hindus and Muslims seem less committed to integration than their parents.

The old order has yielded; it cannot be rebuilt. But how India casts off its old garb will determine its future. It needs a new economics, but also the old tolerance. Perhaps it will achieve both. In "India: From Midnight to the Millennium," Shashi Tharoor recalls that Nehru described India as "an ancient palimpsest on which layer upon layer of thought and reverie had been inscribed, and yet no succeeding layer had completely hidden or erased what had been written previously." Building a modern country upon an ancient civilization: that is India's challenge for the 21st century. ■

MAKING SENSE OF INDIA

It is the world's largest democracy and an emerging economic superpower, yet Americans care little about it. As India celebrates its golden anniversary, can't the United States find something to love? By TONY CLIFTON

AT THE STROKE OF THE MIDNIGHT HOUR, WHEN the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom," Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru told an ecstatic nation on Aug. 15, 1947. "We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again." Weeks from the 50th anniversary of its independence, India finally has defined itself: the world's largest democracy will become one of its economic superpowers early next century. Yet Americans, who ponder their relationship with China and Russia, remain apathetic to the nearly 1 billion people who populate India. Who can name the nation's prime minister? Mention India, and Mother Teresa is more likely to come to mind, not its booming software business. It's a curious relationship. The two countries should be natural friends—both former British colonies, firm allies during two world wars. India's burdens may still be heavy—it is home to more than a third of the world's poor—but Nehru's heirs have kept the core promise: India remains a democracy. That accomplishment alone should have won Washington's admiration, if not love. But since 1947 the view from Washington has ranged from outright hostility to indifference. And among Indian bureaucrats and intellectuals, suspicion that Washington is maneuvering against New Delhi has hardened into reflex. How could that be, if the countries really stand for what they claim?

The forces of history at midcentury dashed any hope of a love affair. Nehru toiled to found a socialist utopia just as the start of the cold war had Washington dividing the world into friends and enemies. India willfully defied categorization. In the name of neutrality, Nehru declined America's invitations to help build a regional bulwark against Soviet expansion, a position John Foster Dulles once called "immoral and shortsighted." Nehru sent the brilliantly acerbic V. K. Krishna Menon to the U.N.; after one meeting, President Eisenhower called him "a menace and a boor." To Washington, neutrality meant keeping quiet; India instead formulated its own moral stands. For America, a country that feels a need to cloak foreign policy in moral righteousness, that may have been the ultimate affront.

Geopolitics, including the touchy issue of nuclear proliferation, shredded what good will remained after the early years. The nadir was 1971, when President Richard Nixon "tilted" toward India's archrival, Pakistan, seeking an opening toward Pakistan's ally, China. Still, Washington often helped India—openly by donating food, covertly by building the campaign chests of such favored politicians as Indira Gandhi. The payoff was small. "They're not grateful enough," said a U.S. ambassador late one night in a flash of candor. The hostility was mutual. S. K. Singh, once India's top diplomat, called his U.S. counterparts "absolutely ruthless in pursuing their self-interest." Nixon was the last U.S. president to officially visit New Delhi.

Now the cold war is over, and India again has rediscovered itself—as a champion of market capitalism. And hostility, though deeply rooted in the two countries' bureaucracies, may be eroding. Since India reformed its investment laws in 1991, U.S. companies have poured in up to a billion dollars a year. Indians now can watch MTV and "The Bold and the Beautiful." They eat Big Macs (made from lamb) and Kentucky Fried Chicken, and buy their kids Reeboks and Nikes. Upper-class Indians who used to school their children in England now look to American universities. More of them than ever are visiting the United States—and 355,000 immigrated between 1985 and 1995. There now are a million Indian-Americans, and they've begun to assert themselves politically, as befits one of the country's most affluent immigrant groups. Indians are learning the game. And two thin-skinned democracies may yet realize that their shared values far outweigh their differences.

With TOM MASLAND in New York

As a new nation, India insisted on doing things its way: *The Maharajah of Baria's wedding in 1948*

A NEW TIGER

India used to pride itself on poverty-stricken self-sufficiency. Now it seeks growth, exports and foreign investment, and the economy is booming.

By Steven Strasser and Sudip Mazumdar

TRAVEL INTO THE DEPTHS OF Bihar, India's poorest state, along the dirt paths that connect its stagnant pools of humanity, past government signs touting chimerical health and education programs, into the hopeless heart of a subcontinent where the squalid villages might remind you of sub-Saharan Africa—except that the poorest Africans fare better than the destitute of Bihar. Eventually you will stumble onto the village of Kalipahari, blessed with electricity thanks to a nearby hydroelectric dam. Here you will see, in practically every hovel, an incongruous sight: a television set, pulling down American soap operas and Scotch whisky ads from Hong Kong. This is the Indian dream at ground level. As the vision of "Baywatch" filters through Bihar, so even the poorest of the poor finally begin to rise from the depths of rotted isolation.

And so does poor old India. For 50 years the national identity has depended on isolation from perceived enemies—from plotting neocolonialists in the West, from greedy multinational companies, even from those intrepid Indians who resisted the official creed of self-sufficiency. But now satellite TV has come to Bihar, and Coca-Cola, too. Health and education will one day follow. The leaders in New Delhi have a new national ideal—rapid growth—and, at least in spirit, they have thrown open the doors to multinationals everywhere. More important, they are forging a national identity more suited to modern times. India, at last, has begun to see itself as another Asian nation dedicated to the accumulation of wealth and the spread of prosperity. In the next century that vision will hold infinite more power than the old asceticism. "Perhaps our industrialization is not complete," says Srini Rajam, head of the Texas Instruments branch in booming Bangalore, "but we can leapfrog into the Information Age."

India has always had pride. Now it has ambition. In the early years of independence, Jawaharlal Nehru's government rejoiced in standing apart, the epitome of the "nonaligned" nation. As a conglomeration of peoples with seven major religions and 18 official languages, India made its own rules: a democracy on a continent ruled by despots, a planned economy whose bureaucratic stewards were satisfied to creep along at a 3 or 4 percent "Hindu rate of

growth." Only when the New Delhi elite squarely acknowledged that its hubris had put the nation on the sidelines of the global economy—while India's great rival China was getting rich—did real reforms begin. Now, six years into Ind...'s opening to the world, the economy is growing by nearly 7 percent a yea..., a rate that by 2020 will transform its economy into the world's fourth largest (after China, the United States and Japan). "There is a lot of political cacophony," says Finance Minister P. Chidambaram, who has served under two coalition governments in the last 14 months. "But we are on course."

There is no lilt to his optimism. A visitor to urban China (which is churning along at a growth rate of 9.5 percent a year) can almost hear the hum of enterprise in a nation that is fairly bursting to build a better life. The reformers of India, by contrast, tend to bow under the weight of their nation's great poverty. Even now, 52 percent of their people still live on incomes of less than $1 a day, according to World Bank figures. Nearly two thirds of Indian children younger than 5 are malnourished, and those who reach school age can count on an average of only 3.5 years of education if they are boys, 1.5 if they are girls. By the time they reach adulthood, half are still illiterate. Think of it: India is trying to accelerate onto the Information Superhighway with nearly 300 million adults who cannot read road signs.

Comparisons between India and the economic tigers of East Asia are equally dismal. Pacific Rim economies that once ranked far below India and its South Asian neighbors now enjoy per capita incomes 27 times greater, according to the Human Development Centre, a Pakistani think tank that studies regional economic trends. The blunt reality of India's failures is now driving its reforms, and most Indians agree on what must be done. From the Marxists running Calcutta to the Hindu nationals running Bombay (they call it Mumbai), the bywords of the new India are growth, foreign investment and, most hallowed of all, exports.

Pride: *Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi (left) preached self-reliance in the early days*

Ambition: *A modern Indian uses a cellular phone before a Gandhi mural in New Delhi*

The strategy, formed in 1991 by the then prime minister P. V. Narasimha Rao and his finance minister, Manmohan Singh, was ruthlessly simple: to dismantle the stifling bureaucracy that once ruled India as intrusively as Moscow's planners once ran the Soviet Union. Rao and Singh cut much of the bureaucracy's "license raj" of red tape, then went on to simplify taxes, reduce the scope of the state sector (which provided everything from power to motor scooters), liberalize foreign investment and cut tariffs. From the earliest days, says Singh, "our goal has been to show the world that India can compete with a... country in Southeast Asia in our hospitality to investment and our spirit of enterprise."

India's culture has also been a force for

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The three R's: *Students in Mumbai's Dharavi district, Asia's worst slum (above)*

The Raj: *In the heyday of British rule, the Prince of Wales (center) kills a tiger*

reaching out to the world. The film industry turns out both masterpieces and tawdry B movies in astonishing profusion. Using the imported English language in their own unique way, novelists like Arundhati Roy, 37, a former actress and screenwriter, have become international best sellers. The literary tradition has deep roots; Hindu poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore won the Nobel Prize in Literature as long ago as 1913.

Neither culture nor industry has done anything yet for the dregs of Indian society, the 200 million or so people at the very bottom of the ladder. But for the first time in history, economic growth and the spread of communications are working a revolution among many millions of India's other poor. New Delhi's program of teaming with foreign investors to string out copper wire for telephones is proceeding in fits and starts. Even in the capital, the wait for a new phone can still stretch to three years. Nonetheless, the government's decision to let in foreign satellite television has led to an explosion of more than 20 million cable-TV connections within the last two years. That alone has helped to spur demand among low-income consumers to unprecedented levels. A manufacturer of $1.20 bottles of shampoo for middle-class Indians found a huge new market for two-cent packets of the brand in poor areas. The race is on to produce cheap television sets and appliances. One entrepreneur found a way to convert devices for making *lassi* (a yogurt drink) into cheap washing machines. And the first developer of a good $50 refrigerator, suggests economist S. L. Rao, would now find a huge new market in rural India.

More important, India's poor are beginning to find their political voice. Indian democracy has always been hobbled by the primitive state of its grass-roots politics. Too many local leaders bubbled up to national power on their ability to buy votes and deliver favors—and subsequently used their national platforms mainly to enrich themselves. But the rural awakening that came with reform also has revived state and local politics. State competition for the spoils of reform is now common. Tamil Nadu attracted a Ford plant by waiving state sales taxes and offering land at a concessionary price. Uttar Pradesh won the battle to lure an electronics project set up by the Korean giant Daewoo.

The southern city of Bangalore, India's Silicon Valley, stands as the glittering tiara of the new India. Indians themselves own only 1.8 million installed personal computers—about a third the number in New York City. But what the info-tech companies stand for is vitally important.

Colonialism on the March

India wasn't content to remain a colony; the seeds of its independence were sown less than 30 years after the British took over.

The Brits battle for India

1757 The British East India Company gains control of Bengal after Lt. Col. Robert Clive defeats French and Mogul forces

1858 After a century of growing influence on the Subcontinent, the British government takes direct control of India

1885 The Indian National Congress is formed and pushes, with increasing stridency, for a greater Indian voice in government

Early days

1906 Muslims establish the Muslim League to defend their interests against the Hindu majority

1920 Mahatma Gandhi takes over the Congress and presses for 'nonviolent disobedience'

1935 The British government approves a constitution that gives Indians more political power

A British duke and a staffer go hunting

1940 The Muslim League demands that a separate Muslim country, Pakistan, be carved out of India

1942 The Congress party passes the 'Quit India' resolution, calling on the Brits to leave the country; Gandhi is imprisoned

Gandhi

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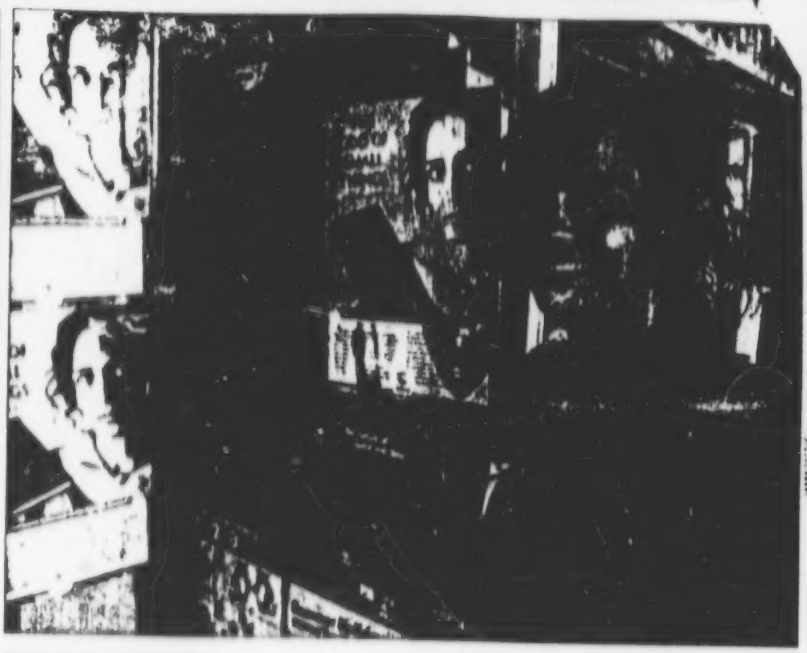


The homegrown firms and those allied with all the big names, from IBM to Intel, have exuberantly cut through red tape and protectionism, welcoming competition while becoming successful software exporters themselves. "If we can't compete with international brands in our own country, we can't hope to ever compete in other countries," says software-industry spokesman Dewang Mehta.

As India streamlines its bureaucracy and unclogs its courts, New Delhi and Mumbai may become more attractive to multinational corporations than the regulatory wilds of Beijing and Shanghai. If India can mobilize its hundreds of millions of young, cheap workers at a time when the work force of the developed world is aging, a boom of Chinese magnitude might not be out of the question. "Just think of the economic output we can generate from this population when our per capita income of $430 doubles early in the next century," says Mukesh Ambani, vice chairman of Mumbai's Reliance Industries. "That will clearly boost us into range of becoming an economic superpower."

Somehow the mantle of "superpower" does not quite fit the personality of a huge, poor country that will continue to regard itself, culturally and politically, as the world's great exception. Nor will India likely become a classic Asian tiger. As a vibrant democracy that must always tend to its own first, the nation will never produce a Deng Xiaoping to dictate its strategy from on high. The new Indian dynamo will muddle along, sure of its direction but never of its strategy, obsessed always with the myriad demands from within. "We will take one sector at a time, show that it works and build confidence," says Manmohan Singh. "There can be no big-bang theory of growth."

Hindu verse: *Nobel Prize winner Rabindranath Tagore (left) in 1905*

Best-selling fiction: *Arundhati Roy, author of 'The God of Small Things'*

An outsider can gauge India's progress by measuring the market's success at shifting resources to the government's neediest constituents—something the centralized bureaucracy never could accomplish. How will life change in the most desolate regions of Bihar? At the absolute end of the line, in the village of Devnagra, a foreign donor recently gave $7,000 for a new well, the kind of gesture that short-circuits India's inefficiencies (to put it politely) rather than validating reform. Nonetheless, once fresh water comes to the village, it will be less hard to imagine a school, a clinic, even a road—and along that road, a thin copper wire connecting the darkest corner of India to the riches of the world.

With RON MOREAU *in Mumbai,* TONY CLIFTON *in New Delhi and* JOSHUA KWAN *in Hong Kong*

The Fall of the Union Jack

After a turbulent beginning, India has transformed itself from a British colony into the world's largest democracy.

Nehru

1947 India gains independence one day after Pakistan is created. Nehru becomes prime minister

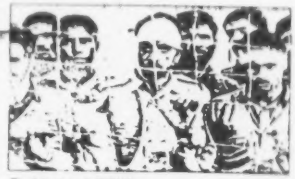
1947-49 India and Pakistan fight over Kashmir on the China border

1948 Gandhi, on his way to an evening prayer meeting, is shot to death by a Hindu extremist

1966 In a compromise, the left and right wings of the Congress party name Indira Gandhi India's first woman prime minister

Indira Gandhi

1971 India assists East Pakistan in winning a war against West Pakistan. East Pakistan becomes Bangladesh.



Pakistani POWs

1974 India explodes its first nuclear device underground, but denies it has plans to build nuclear weapons

1984 Indira Gandhi is assassinated by a Sikh. A Union Carbide gas leak in Bhopal kills 2,000 people

Bhopal victims

1991 Rajiv Gandhi, Indira's son and successor, is assassinated

1996 The Congress party, India's longtime ruling party, is defeated

Mourning at Rajiv's cremation

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From the Old to the New

Fifty years after independence, India is redefining itself. Some changes are overdue, others worrisome. All are unstoppable. BY FAREED ZAKARIA

IT IS SURELY ONE OF the great speeches of the century. India's Gettysburg Address. Jawaharlal Nehru's stirring announcement of Indian independence was, like Abraham Lincoln's speech, a consecration of both victory and tragedy (about as many died in India's bloody partition as did in the Civil War), and, like Lincoln's, it gave voice to a new nation. Nehru saw Aug. 15, 1947, as a watershed, marking the end of two centuries of European dominion and the rebirth of an ancient civilization: "A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance."

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Capitalism has put the nation back on track. *Passing a breakfast tray along a train*

The effects are striking. Visit a city or town in India and *everybody* is on the make. People who once sought government jobs, with security and low salaries, now look for business opportunities, franchises and financing. A society that has, for thousands of years, honored the status of the state, of princes and of caste now exalts the market.

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The Legacy of Gandhi and The Challenges of the Twenty-First Century

Prof. N. Radhakrishnan

It is widely accepted now that the core of the legacy Gandhi left for humanity, is that he taught us that truth is greater than all worldly possessions, and that slavery violence, injustice and disparities are inconsistent with truth. What Gandhi left is not a set of theoretical formulations, on the contrary, a carefully evolved vision of an organically sound and mutually supportive and respecting independent world order. The six decades of Gandhi's public life in three continents spearheading various movements for a new social and political milieu where all men and women will be treated as brothers and sisters demonstrated with convincing sincerity a revolutionary zeal for change -change with consent- hitherto unexperimented in national or international politics. Tolerance, consent, reconciliation and a profound faith in the unity of all sentient? and nonsentient? beings have been the core of the Gandhian vision of a world where harmony among the various segments of God's creation would nurture the essential goodness in each one - both the visible and invisible threads uniting the entire humanity into a single entity. Does this sound Utopian? Yes, quite a large number of people still believe that the new social order Gandhi envisioned is too ideal and an unattainable utopia only fit enough for academic and semantic interpretations.

The world of tomorrow and the challlenges facing humanity call for a reappraisal of not only what Gandhi offers but all similar and other ideologies. The fast emerging socio-political and scientific scenario has dismantled almost at one stroke all humanity hitherto believed invincible. Nothing is sacrosant. The geo-political compulsions and the mad frenzy of both developed and developing nations to appropriate for themselves all what they can lay hands on reminds us of the haste and anxiety seen among the nocturnal thieves to plunder

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completely and decamp with the booty before anyone wakes up in the house. It appears that a kind of colonial instinct also guides modern man in all his tendencies. Only the label changes, the bottle and the decoction continue to be the same, it appears.

What is the relevance of Gandhi in this all-pervading materialistic, agnostic and consumeristic culture? It is precisely these three tendencies Gandhi fought in all his life. It is a fact of history that repudiation of one philosophy at a given time does not mean the death or irrelevance of it. The men and women who moved the world were mostly either crucified, burnt alive, or were administered hemlock, sentenced to death or were branded heretic,or excommunicated. Still independent inquiry and pursuit of truth and to express themselves against injustice were continued in all ages, probably with added vigour. The irreversible fact of history, again, is that the list of such 'rebels' steadily grew despite all attempts to ward off the perceived threat.

It appears that the four challenges of the twenty-first century will be :

i) Taming the monster of violence and keeping it within limits.

ii) ensuring equitable distribution of wealth and natural resources: also to cry a halt to the exploitation and insensitivity shown in preserving balance in nature.

iii) Increasing reliance of rulers and politicians on religious fundamentalist elements and forces to capture power and sustain themselves in power by exploiting religious sentimennts. and

iv) decline of moral, spiritual and ethical considerations.

Of all these the most disturbing is the alarming manner in which violence is spreading - spreading like a cancer. The biggest challenge to the next century will be how to tame this monster. Besides eating into the vitals of all what humanity has been able to achieve, it threatens to hold humanity to ransom and is in the driver's seat. The chilling factor in this sordid and frightening scenario is the speed with which violence has sent shock waves everywhere. Violence is no longer the

luxury of the industrialised or developed nations or those kept under long years of colonial rule but it is everywhere. Let us look at what the National Centre of Education Statistics of the department of Education in Washington DC pointed out at a news conference.

* 100,000 children take a gun to school every day (Children's Defence Fund says as many as 135,000)

* 160,000 will miss school because of fear of injury
  320,000 per month
  160,000 per day

* 2,000 young people attacked before every hour in a working day.
  282,000 per month
  14,100 per day

* 900 teachers threatened and nearly 40 attacked per hour.
  [illegible] each month
  8,250 threatened per day
  5, 200 physically attacked each month
  260 per day
  37 per hour

* Every 36 minutes - a child killed or injured by a firearm- over 14,000 per year

* 11986 - 1990 - 250 hostage incidents - using guns- in 35 states

And it appears that at one go humanity has been seized by those who believe that economic growth is the real index of both development and real power. While the power of money was never underestimated anywhere, never before in human history everything is being measured in terms of per capita income or GNP or the relative pruchasing power or such other material considerations. This preoccupation on the part of the twentieth century man has created a situation where family ties, inter-personal, cultural, ethical, even religious and social aspects have been relegated to the background is really sending shock waves all around. No body seems to be worried about the terrific manner in which all aspects that sustain humanity and regulate growth and other issues receive no attention from those who control our lives. This has become a universal phenomenon and no society or country can feel that the situation is different with them. All what we hear is the talk about

sharing of wealth, arms reduction and nuclear non proliferation by those nations who produce all lethal weapons that could wipe out humanity several times in the event of a war and advocating acceptance of NPT which several countries like India genuninely feel discriminatory in its present form. The warning and spirited campaigns undertaken by the environmentalists to stop many of the harmful steps by the managers of our destiny receive only scanty attention and unfortunately these warnings by and large, remain cries in the wilderness.

The relevance of Gandhi or for that matter anybody else has to be examined against these emerging trends. The galloping horses of humanity which are at the moment being goaded and whipped to run as fast as they could in order to win the coveted places of material achievements have to be reigned in by the collective assertion by an awakened humanity which has a right to exist. But then, this will be possible only if we are prepared to ponder over the immense damage being caused to the edifice of humanity. It is not even slow poisoning. It is almost like 'sudden death', to borrow an expression from football.

Another frightening aspect is the sad fact that man in no where is in the reckoning now. He has been pitiably reduced to the status of a consumer and he is first and last consumer now. His purchasing power is all that matters. Similarly the purchasing power of a nation is all what the other nation now cares for. The talk in the world capitals are all centred on which are the biggest markets in the world and our newspapers devote more than a bulk of their space for market trends and stock markets, bullion rates while a bulk of the remaining space in the news papers deal with violence of various forms, political gossips, coup attempts, private life of celebrities and such other hot items which would ensure a steady interest among the readers. The readers, caught in the web of a violent culture are force-fed by the sweetmeat provided by an enticing consumeristic culture are also satisfied by the 'kick' they get by reading these items. Why should they waste their time on news and features about culture, art or development ? This attitude, unfortunately, seems to be gaining ground.

Gandhi warned humanity of this dangerous situation as early as 1909 when he pointed out in the seminal work ' Hind Swaraj' that unprincipled growth will land humanity on the brink of disaster.

Even his own close disciples raised their eye brows of disagreement when he said this. The vil that we are to fight is within us and we are ignorant of it. that is the basic problem. Motif such as give and take. live and let live. love and to be loved have become cliches in the new dictionary compiled by the champions of unlimited growth. This can be possible only if we adopt a holistic vision of life and ensure equality and justice which presupposes the simple truth that each individual is unique and we should respect his individuality and let him maintain his uniqueness and what applies to an individual should apply to a nation or at a global level.

Gandhi further warned against a series of social and political turmoils. ecological devastation and other human misery that might arise unless modern civilisation takes care of nature and man tries to live in harmony with nature and tries to reduce his wants. Unlimited consumeristic tendencies and callous indifference to values will not help humanity to progress towards peace. he warned. [illegible] of all forms. exploitation in whicever manner it exists are negation of humanity's basic right to exist. The Gandhian legacy of simple living in conformity with the basic rythm of life typifies the age-old wisdom of humanity. Gandhi tries to convince humanity that wars never solved any problem. On the contrary reconciliation should help humanity sort out the various problems. Thus in Gandhi. as has been pointed out by many thinkers in different parts of the world. we have a world leader who dreamt of a warless world and promoter of a social order where exploitation and injustice will not become the dominant tendencies.

Two of the important factors that brought Gandhi closer to the millions are the genuine inspiration he was able to offer and generation of a feeling among the masses that he was motivated only by the spirit of service and not by any personal or ulterior desires. His South African experiments won him respects from even those who opposed him and those who never met him or knew him.

Tolstoy comments that what Gandhi was doing in South Africa was the most important thing in the world at that time were a case in point. Gandhi demonstrated that the life of a leader should also be open. capable enough to influence the masses so that they will also emulate the leader unreservedly. Gandhi did both these with remarkable success. which

in turn resulted in millions following him like charmed moths. The two settlements that Gandhi started in South Africa, the Phoenix Ashram settlement and the Tolstoy Farm bear eloquent testimony to the leadership qualities and the visionary nature of Gandhi which in turn generated great understanding, sympathy and enthusiasm among almost all dumb Indians and others in South Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century. His life, both as an initiator of new experiments and as a private individual and lawyer of great promise, were all open. He was against anybody possessing anything more than what the other person had. The members of the settlement ate in the common kitchen, they worked in the farm together, their children attended the general school and nobody entertained or desired to accumulate or acquire anything of his own. Not that Gandhi did not have problems in this. It was difficult for him to convince even his own wife and Gandhi was harsh when he detected that his wife had a few things of her own. Gandhi's children were disappointed and even they nourished an ambition of attending better schools and pursuing their higher education outside South Africa. Gandhi resisted all these attempts and insisted on his children attending the same school where the children of other members of the settlement were studying. He kept account of every pie that was spent. He stopped even charging for his own services as a lawyer. All this, not only endeared him to his followers but inspired them also to follow him as far as possible. This naturally resulted in a kind of joy and willing participation in a cause he was espousing.

Back in India, the first major movement Gandhi launched was in a place called Champaran, near Bodh Gaya, a place associated with Shakyamuni Buddha. Gandhi's visit to this sleepy village where he launched his first satyagraha movement also witnessed joyful participation of the people in large numbers. He proved that people will respond to any genuine call for action provided they are convinced that the issues identified are their own and one who leads the movement should be an object of love, respect and dedication and in Gandhi his followers found these qualities in abundance.

The Ahmedabad Mill strike, the Salt Satyagraha, the Non-Cooperation Movement- all witnessed large number of people jumping into massive Civil Disobedience Movement sacrificing their wealth and comfort and courting sufferings, injuries and sacrifice.

The songs sung by those who participated in this heroic struggle extolled virtues of unprecedented magnitude. Nothing would deter these people from marching forward. Jails were filled with satyagrahis and schools and factories were also converted into temporary jails and having found no room to accommodate the surging and ever growing number of those who were defying the orders of the Government. There were instances of prisoners being sent out of the main land to the Andaman Islands. That was the spirit of those heroic days. Facing bullets and even death did not matter. It was the conviction, and that too, unmistakable and a grim determination to march forward like inspired souls to achieve their goal that characterised their mood and by no means could it be said impulsive. In this heroic struggle, the central figures who not only inspired all those who participated, as also those who proved to be the sheet anchor of the resurging fighting for self discovery and articulation of their suppressed voice, were Gandhi and those inspired by Gandhi. This remarkable achievement was possible because Gandhi convicingly demonstrated through his simple life that his identification with the masses was complete.

Gandhi was not a philosopher in the conventional sense of the term. His views, mostly based on his profound understanding of human nature and the insights he developed from the numerous experiments he conducted with scientific precision have been found to be not a philosopher's articulations but the records of the experience of a visionary who was searching for ways and means to lesson tension and promote harmony in the various spheres of human endeavour. The breath taking development of the second half of the present century proved that Gandhi was correct as Martin Luther King (Jr) said, 'If humanity is to progress, Gandhi is inescapable. He lived, thought and acted, inspired by the vision of a humanity evolving towards a world of peace and harmony. We may ignore him at our own risk'.

By equate Gandhi with any saint or philosopher who couched transcendental truth and spoke in riddles offering a plethora of aphorisms, we will be missing the essential Gandhi. He was a revolutionary in the sense that he aimed at changing certain social and political structures but the means he adopted were not the usual violent methods associated with revolutions. He offered a package of

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alternatives to humanity His insistence of nonviolence to violence, persuasion and reconciliation to end hostilities, trusteeship to end economic injustice, improvement of the lot of the depressed sections by abolishing factors that perpetrate social iniquities, ending man's tyranny on nature by respecting nature as the protector of human race, limiting one's wants, developing equal respect for all religions offered humanity the blue-print for a holistic vision. Gandhi convincingly demonstrated through his ashram experiments the use of alternative source of energy, appropriate technology etc. In short, an ardent practitioner of truth that he was, Gandhi showed to humanity that there are workable alternatives which will be creative and sustainable. The only thing in is that we have to muster courage to accept it, for it demands self and collective discipline of various kinds. It is not the gratuitous and condescending offer of a bit of whatever we are willing to part with that is required, but a willing and spontaneous readiness to share with the less privileged fellowmen and women what one has in excess and to work for happily ushering a new order. The Gandhian humanism was not restrictive but transcendental. To describe it as revivalist reflects the closed minds of those who try to put all creative and revolutionary ideas and efforts in straight jackets

It is said in certain quarters that Gandhi was successful only to a limited extent that too his impact is felt only in certain cultural context. There is no denying of the fact that Gandhi was deep-roted in his cultural and religious traditions. The phenomenal success Gandhi registered in the far-away South Africa fighting for human rights and civil liberties in the first two decades of this century and later the adoption of the Gandhian techniques, if not fully, by Nelson Mandela and the subsequent revelations made by the former South African President Mr.De Klerk that he was also influenced by Gandhi in adopting the path of reconciliation and forgiveness certainly show that Gandhi had not spent twenty one years in South Africa in vain.

In the American continent Martin Luther King's heroic fight for civil liberties on the Gandhian lines and his own admission that it was from Gandhi that he learnt his operational tactics also is not an isolated instance of the relevance of the Gandhian tactics. The manner in which the Greens, particularly in Germany, adopted Gandhian techniques

to arouse human consciousness and how they operationalised their strategy and the bold assertions made by Petra Kelly about the way they were influenced by Gandhi also indicate that it is not the cultural traditions of a country or continent that would make the efficacy of certain philosphy or attitude viable, but it is the willingness and readiness of people to react and respond that matters. One can give quite a few instances from almost all parts of the world to show how in different measures the Gandhian vision and approach is found to be an effective weapon in the hands of freedom fighters and social reformers.

Gandhi at no stage claimed that he was trying to teach anything new. Infact he himself said more than once that he was not involved in any such mission. Truth and nonviolence, he said, are as old as the hills and he was only trying to appreciate and understand the marvel and majesty of both. He said in this connection "We have to make truth a, ' nonviolence, not matters for mere individual practice, but for practice by groups and communities and nations. That at any rate is my dream. I shall live and die in trying to realize it. My faith helps me to discover new truths every day. Ahimsa is the attribute to the soul, therefore life practised by everybody in all affairs of life".

There is a surprising similarity between UNESCO's statement in its preamble that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed and Mahatma Gandhi's assertion that the world either progresses with nonviolence or perishes with violence. Mahatma Gandhi's heroic work in South Africa for full 21 years and over 30 years of work in India have given to humanity a blue print of strategies for a peaceful transition of humanity where respect for all forms of life, human dignity, self-respect and tolerance would characterise humanity's progress. The year 1994 bore witness to the efficacy of Gandhi's strategies and philosphy as could be seen from the manner in which the fight Gandhi began a 100 years ago in South Africa i.e. in 1903 bearing fruits when the blacks and the whites in South Africa were able to work out a satisfactory solution to peaceful transfer of power which resulted in the holding of elections and Dr.Mandela taking over the reigns of power.

Gandhi's contribution to the political awakening and freedom movement in different parts of the world and adoption of nonviolent strategies which help both the opposing groups respect each other's sentiments and accommodating the views of others has much in common with UNESCO's decision to propagate the message of tolerance for human survival. Asia and the African continent particularly have seen peaceful transition of power and social change, thanks to Mahatma Gandhi's initiative which included different methods. One important thing that keeps apart Gandhi's teachings and strategies is the utmost importance Gandhi attached to pure means to attain lasting ends. Gandhi's attempts to make politics value based were part of a new world vision. He emphasised that politics bereft of spiritual and ethical considerations will not sustain humanity.

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OPPOSITE:
The carving of its sandstone planes still crisp, Ahmadabad's Sidi Sayyid mosque is a tranquil island in a noisy city. Photograph: David H. Wells.

BACK COVER:
Layered carpets, inlaid mirrors and a potted palm contributed to the comfort of Istanbul's Pera Palace Hotel.

INSIDE BACK COVER:
A diver strides down the steep throat of Dahl Hit. Photograph: Erik Bjurstrom.

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PRESIDENT
Mustafa A. Jalali

DIRECTOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS
Shafiq W. Kamhawy

ADDRESS EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE TO:
The Editor, Aramco World
Post Office Box [illegible]
Houston, Texas [illegible] USA

EDITOR
Robert Arndt

ASSISTANT EDITOR
Dick Doughty

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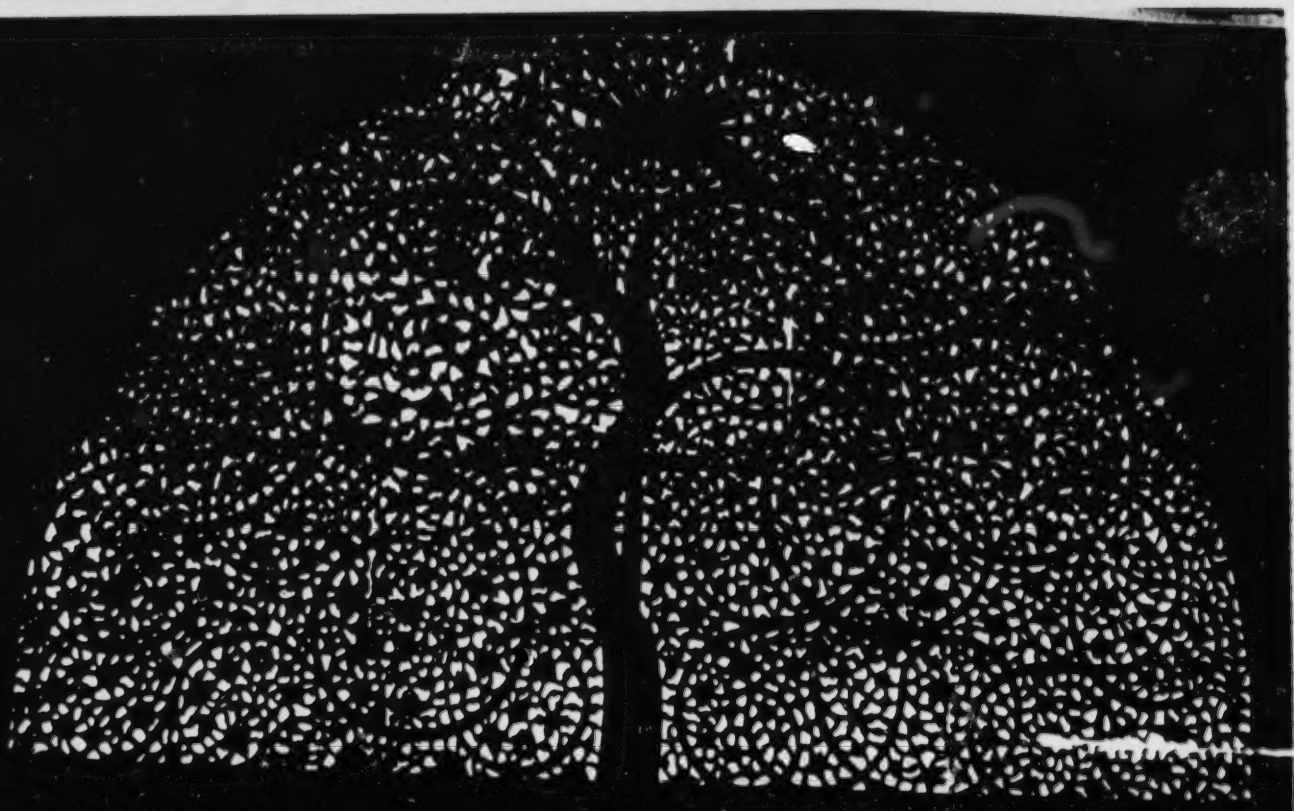
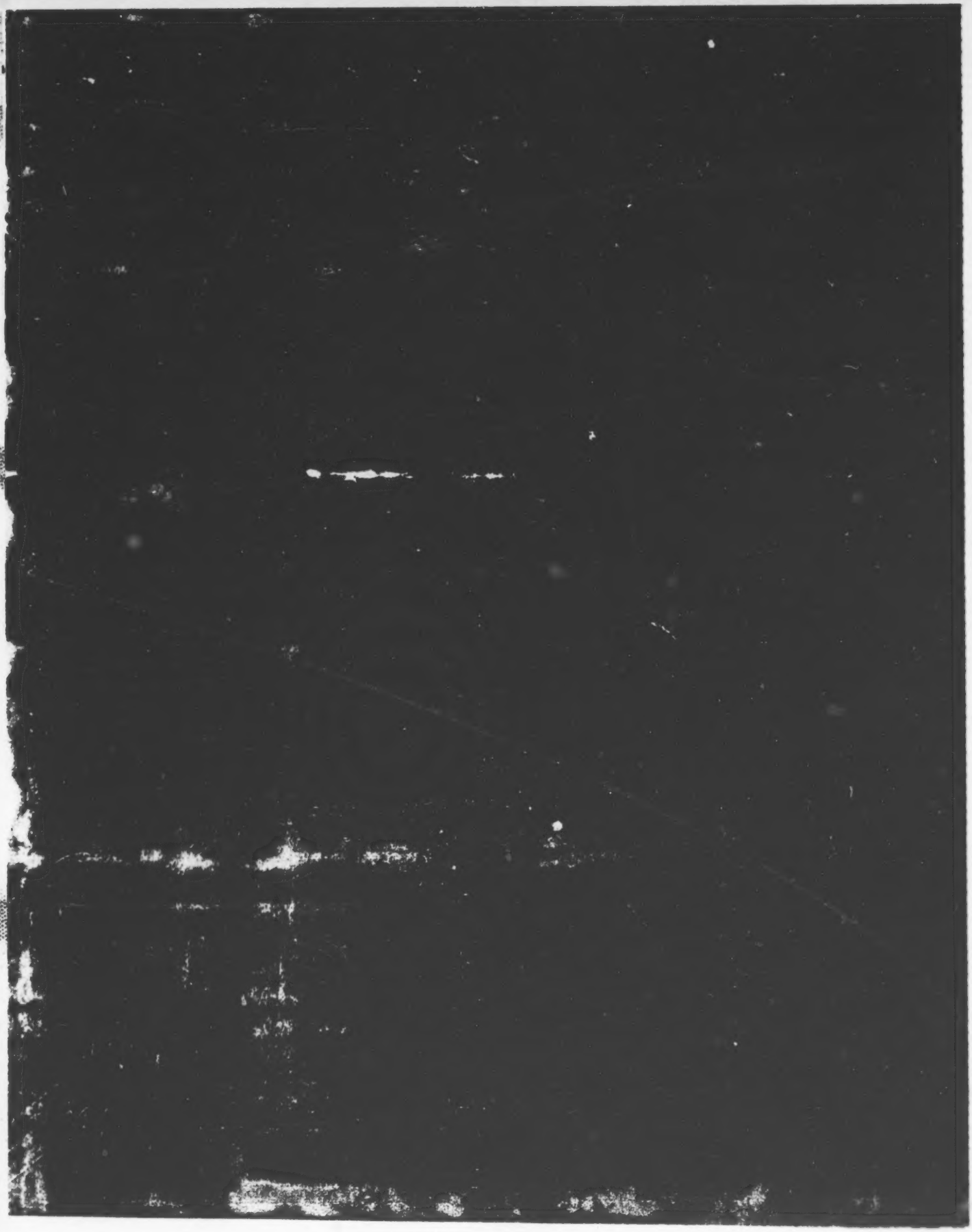


Ahmadabad's Islamic Architecture

Written by Caroline Stone
Photographed by David H. Wells



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"The greatest town in Hindustan, perhaps the world," wrote a 17th-century traveler to Ahmadabad. The British ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, compared the city favorably with London when he visited at about the same time, in 1615.

Capital of Gujarāt from about 1411 until 1970, Ahmadabad was built on the Sabarmati River. For some 350 years, craftsmen commissioned by members of the rulers' court wrought beauty from the soft local honey-colored sandstone. Below: Tin Darwaza, best-known of the city's original 14 gates. Opposite: Wedding-cake layers corbel up the minaret of the 16th-century mosque of Shah Alam Roza. Previous spread: Sunlight filters through a stone screen carved with a "tree of life" design, illuminating the prayer hall of the Sidi Sayyid mosque; an arch beckons onto a causeway and an island in the Kankariya, a 15th-century artificial reservoir; and a minaret rises at the Rani Rupavati mosque, built by the consort of one of the sultans.

The Ahmadabad they were admiring was a relatively new city then, founded and named only two centuries earlier by Ahmad Shah I, sultan of Gujarat. His city displaced the town called Ashaval that had long stood on the banks of the Sabarmati River where Ahmadabad now stands. Ashaval was a prosperous and lively town, well known for its textiles, when it came under the rule of the Muslim sultan of Delhi in 1298—and Ahmadabad remains famous for textile crafts in its own right today.

Even at the end of the 13th century, Islam was not new in Gujarat. Traders had crossed the Arabian Sea for centuries, landing at Diu, Surat, Cambay—"The Arabian Gates"—and settling in small communities all over the area, often earning their livings as merchants and skilled craftsmen. There had also been waves of invaders, mostly of Turkic Central-Asian origin. But it was not until Ahmad Shah's accession in 1411 as the first independent sultan of Gujarat that the region acquired a capital of a strongly Muslim character.

The earliest surviving mosque in Ahmadabad seems to have been built in 1414 by Ahmad Shah himself, for his private use. The outside is very plain and—perhaps not surprisingly—very Turkish-looking, reminiscent of the Seljuk mosques of central Anatolia. It is almost a copy of the mosque at Cambay that was dedicated in 1325—one of the oldest in India. The inner columns are heavy and splendidly carved in a very Indian style, though entirely lacking in figurative elements.

It is probably true that Ahmad Shah began construction of Ahmadabad's congregational mosque, the Jami Masjid, at about the same time, for although it was not completed until 1424, it must have taken a number of years to build. It is among the loveliest mosques in the entire subcontinent, and for a couple of centuries was also the largest, although it was subsequently surpassed by Lahore and, more recently, by Bhopal and Islamabad. (See *Aramco World*, January/February 1992.) Today, the Jami Masjid is no longer in its original form: Its famous "shaking minarets" were toppled by the great earthquake of 1819, which damaged so many of Gujarat's monuments, and were never replaced. A drawing by a British army captain done 10 years before that disaster shows them very well: solid, as one might expect from examining the bases surviving on either side of the main portal, but with something almost pagoda-like about the top. Like many of the city's mosques, the Jami Masjid is a particularly beautiful golden color; presumably the vast slabs of sandstone were brought into the city by caravans of ox carts, just as they are today.

The Jami Masjid was part of a whole plan for the center of Ahmadabad. The Hindu Bhadrakali Temple gave way to the Bad Qil'a, the Castle of the Full Moon, the citade that housed the royal palaces. In front stood

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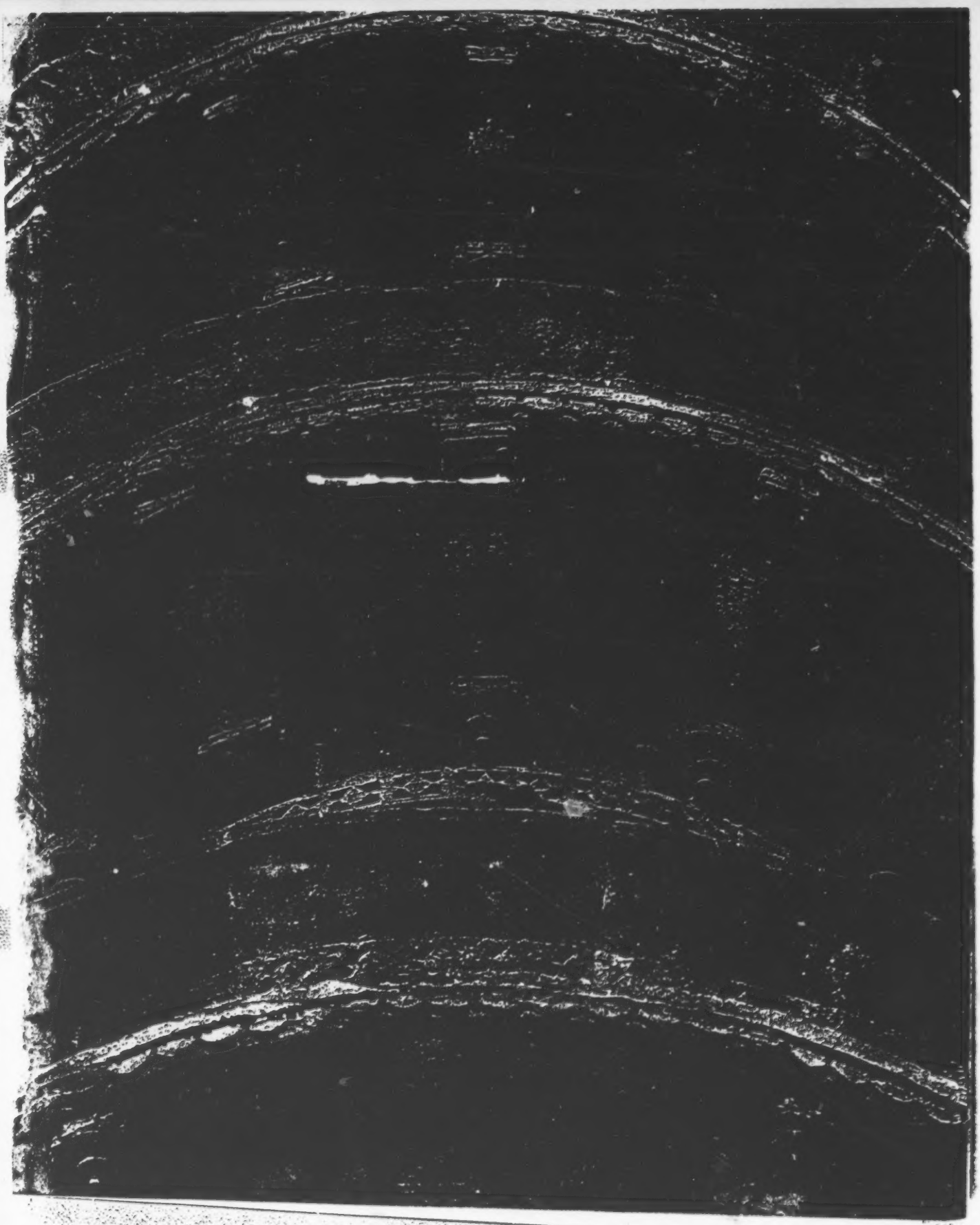

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At the Shah-ka Hariza, or Kings' Tombs, above, a lavish variety of differing motifs appear in the segments of a stone jali, *or screen. A similar generosity of pattern appears at the Rani-ka Hariza, or Queens' Tombs. Below: Tradition associates the Kankariya reservoir and its central island with the honeymoon of Mughal emperor Nur al-Din Jahangir and his wife Nur Jahan. Today its 1600-meter promenade walkway, zoo and picnic grounds make it one of Ahmadabad's most popular parks. Opposite: The crisp commingling of arabesque and vegetal motifs at Rani Rupavati mosque mark the zenith of Ahmadabad's pre-Mughal architecture.*

garden, an ablution tank and her tomb, all perfectly harmonious.

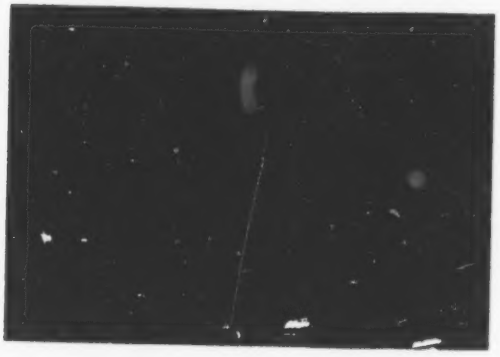
Also dating from the early 16th century is the Bai Harir complex, again built by one of the ladies of Mahmud Shah's court—son say by the official nurse of his children. The complex consists of a small, eye-pleasing mosque, the tomb of Dada Harir. Once again the tops of its minarets have been lost in an earthquake. It is adorned with attractive calligraphy and is also one of the finest *baolis*, or step-wells, in all of Gujarat. (See *Aramco World*, September/October 1993.) Originally, the whole mosque would have stood surrounded by a garden, but that has now vanished. The complex was dedicated, according to an inscription, in 1500 and, as is the case with most of the carving in Ahmadabad, the stonework is as crisp and the detail as sharp as if it had been carved yesterday.

Although the dynasty founded newer cities in other places, generation after generation continued to embellish Ahmadabad. The last great complex of buildings is the Shah Alam Roza, begun in the 1530's. It remains one of the most popular mosques in Ahmadabad, always thronged with visitors, some of whom still stay in the guest house, which is of slightly later date. The mosque itself is large and handsome, but more like those of Delhi than Gujarat. Under the courtyard, there is a great vaulted reservoir that supplies the ablution tank. There are also a number of tombs, in particular that of the early-16th-century ruler Shah Alam, standing to the south of the mosque.

One of the most charming of all the mosques is that of Sidi Sayyid. Although at first glance it appears to be little more than a traffic island with a used-clothes market along the back, this mosque has preserved its ablution tank and garden as well as the atmosphere of tranquillity so remarkable in the mosques of this extraordinarily busy and noisy city. Sidi Sayyid was a descendant of one of Ahmad Shah's *habashi*, or Abyssinian, retainers, who became very powerful. The mosque has great arched windows all around, filled with the most delicate stone tracery. Some is purely geometric, but looking into the prayer chamber from outside, what strikes the attention most, glowing in the darkness, are the splendid, soaring "trees of life."

The arrival of Vasco da Gama at Calicut in 1498 began a century of decline for Ahmad

parade ground. This has vanished today, taken over by the busy small streets of the Manek Chowk, one of the main market areas, but its triple-arched entrance, the Tin Darawasa, still stands, the finest of Ahmadabad's surviving gates. There were originally 14 of them. The Islamic rulers of Gujarat seem to have been especially active in sponsoring hydraulic projects, and there is archeological evidence that underneath the Maidan-i Shah ran a complicated system of pipes intended to supply the royal enclave and the mosques with pure water, and perhaps also for use in case of siege.



Two other buildings begun at the same time are Ahmad Shah's own tomb and the Rani-ka Hazira, or Tombs of the Queens. The former is next to the Jami Masjid and is interesting because of its plan, which was to become typical of Gujarati Muslim structures: a cloister built around a domed central chamber, from which it is separated by elaborately carved screens.

In the Rani-ka Hazira, on the other hand, the tombs are in the open air, allegedly in conformity with the wishes of Ahmad Shah's queen. The enclosure stands high above the surrounding streets and once again the galleries are screened by beautifully wrought stone *jalis*, reminiscent of the wooden *mashrabiyyahs* of the Middle East. The tombs themselves are exquisitely carved, and covered, most appropriately, by brilliantly colored pieces of the brocade for which the city was famous and which lent it much of its prosperity. On top of the graves are scattered fresh flowers, renewed daily by the old lady who cares for the building and by the market women from the shops all around.

Ahmad Shah's descendants all shared his taste for architecture. His son, Qutb al-Din Ahmad Shah, built a handsome mosque with lovely bases to the minarets—the pin-

the Jami Masjid—and his mother, Bibiji, also built one, much prettier and lighter in design, on the outskirts of the town.

It was during Qutb al-Din's brief seven-year reign that the great Kankariya reservoir was excavated—yet another example of the Muslim rulers' awareness of the importance of good water supplies. Kankariya, roughly 1600 meters (one mile) around, is an irregular shape with 34 sides. It has stone steps that lead down to the water, and the sluices are elegantly carved. Although it ended primarily as a reservoir, the place was so agreeable that it has generally been used as a pleasure garden as well. When it was commandeered as a camping ground under the Mughals, it is said that the locals resented being deprived of the amenity and petitioned for its return. It is not certain if the little island in the reservoir, with its pavilion reached by a causeway, was actually built by the Mughal emperor Nur al-Din Jahangir, but tradition associates it with him and his beloved wife, Nur Jahan, and it is locally claimed that they spent part of their honeymoon there. Today, Kankariya is still much appreciated by the Ahmadabadis, who go there to walk, picnic, enjoy the breeze and visit the zoo—an addition of which the Mughals would surely have approved.

The queens of Ahmad Shah's dynasty were also not slow to endow their city with fine buildings. Two of the loveliest and most peaceful mosques in Ahmadabad are those of Rani Rupavati and of Rani Sabrai, Mahmud Shah's senior wife. Both are small mosques with fine carving. Rani Sabrai's, which is raised above street level, also has a

Completed in 1423, Ahmad Shah's Jami Masjid, opposite, was part of his founding plan for the city. The mosque's famous twin "shaking minarets" were toppled by an earthquake in 1819, leaving only their elaborate bases flanking the mosque's main portal. Detail of the base of one minaret appears above. Left: columns creat. rhythm in the ornamentation of the Rani Rupavati mosque. Below: "A learned man with a valuable library," reads the sign at the entrance of the mosque built by Sidi Sayyid in 1572. Now surrounded by a swirl of traffic, the mosque's original ablution tank and garden have been preserved, along with the delicate window tracery.

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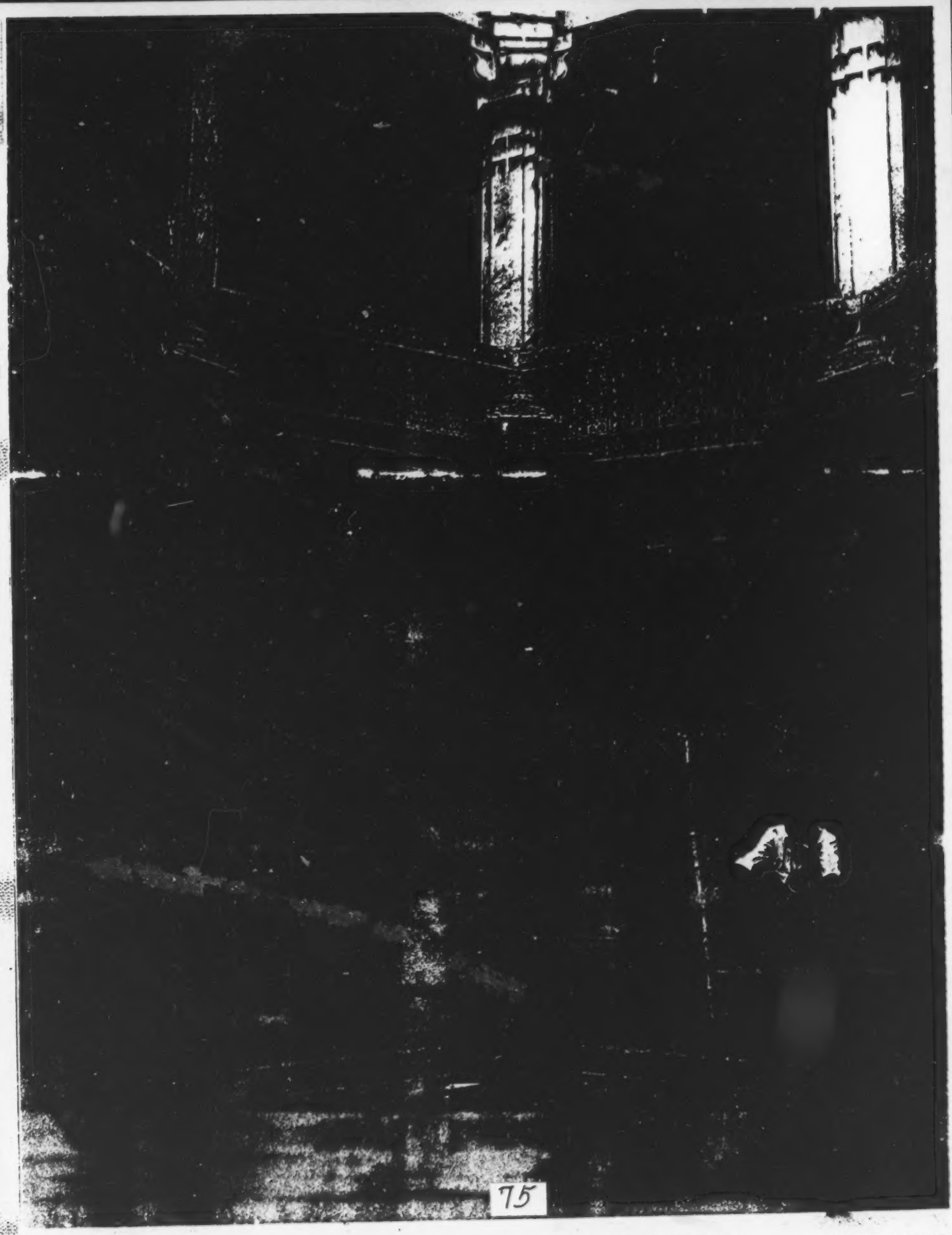

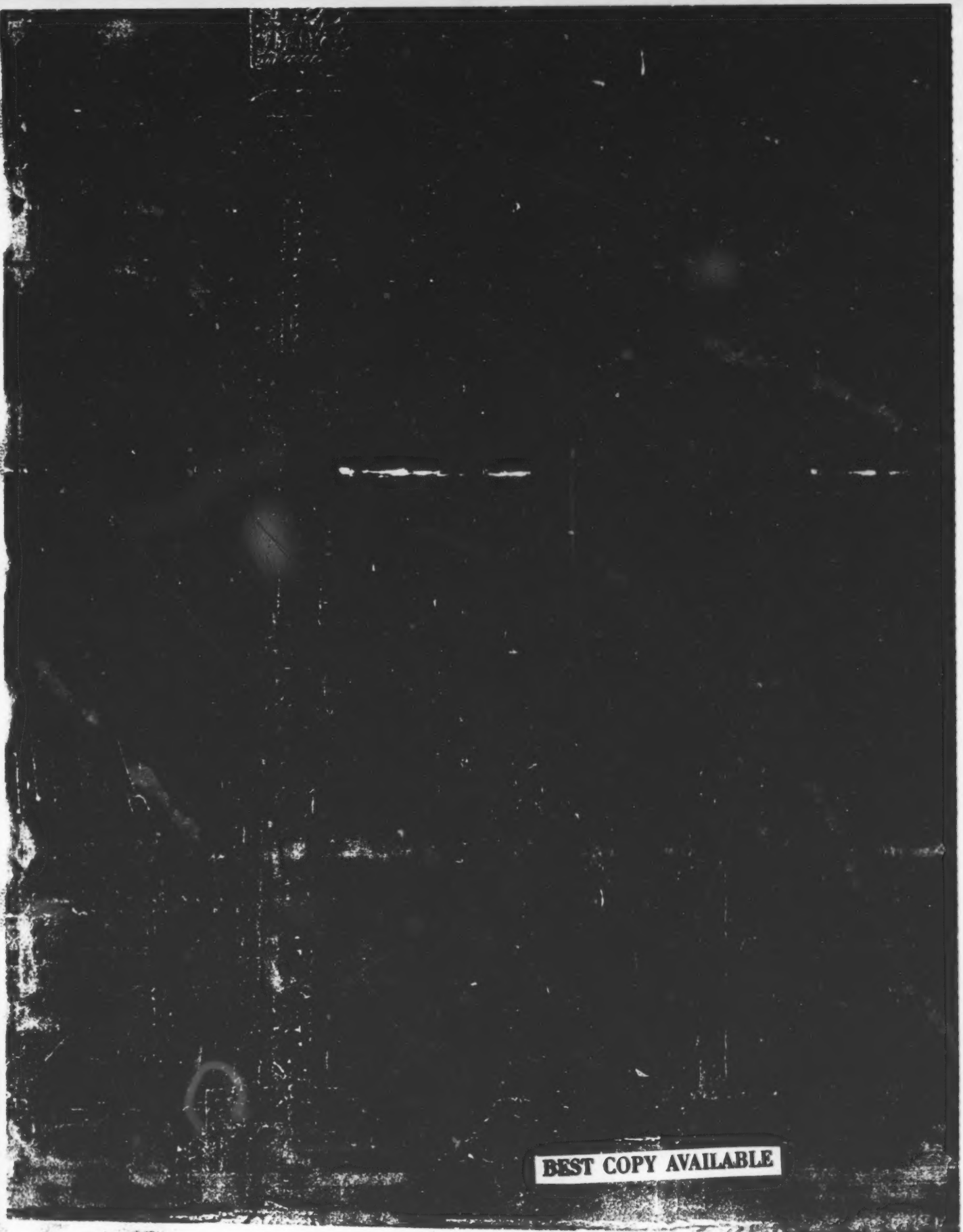
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ed into their own hands much of the Indian Ocean commerce that had passed through Gujarat, and commercial and military conflict fractured the unity of the sultanate. Toward the end of the 16th century, the Mughal emperor Akbar was called in, and at the death of the last Gujarati sultan in 1593, Gujarat became part of the Mughal empire.

With the new rulers came new ideas, including new concepts in architecture. Mosques were built in the Mughal manner, as were palaces and pleasure buildings. The future Shah Jahan began his architectural career here, while viceroy of Gujarat, by building a palace and laying out a garden much admired by Western travelers, the Shahi Bagh, which still survives in a reduced form. There, it is said, his young wife, Mumtaz Mahal, bore the first of her 10 children. The last of them caused her death, thus leading Shah Jahan to his greatest architectural achievement, the Taj Mahal.

Another Mughal viceroy of Gujarat, Azam Khan, was known not for his romanticism but for his industry—his nickname was "The White Ant." He spent his years in Ahmadabad, from 1636 to 1642, building and improving the city. He built a caravanserai next to the citadel as well as a handsome market, or *qaysariyyah*. The caravanserai, an attractive building strongly suggestive of a Mughal palace, originally had a water wheel in the courtyard that drew water from an underground cistern, as well as ornamental cisterns and a fountain. Many of its beauties were destroyed when the British turned it into a jail, but it is still possible to appreciate how attractive it must have been. Probably Azam Khan would not have been displeased by its present use as the public records office, with rows of scribes and official letter writers sitting on the raised platforms outside.

In 1757 the Hindu Maratha confederacy took the city. They raised the basic tax from the 2.5 percent *zakat* (religious tax) that Muslims had paid and the five percent *jiziyah* (personal tax) that non-Muslims had paid to 25 percent for everyone. Within a decade, Ahmadabad became a ghost town. The city that had survived flood, earthquake, famine and invasion was finally abandoned and left to ruin. Quoting another source, the author of the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, one of the main chronicles of Ahmadabad, writes:

"Here there were at least one thousand shops, and in all of these were traders, artisans, craftsmen, government servants and military people, both Hindu and Muslim, until quarrels and mismanagement ruined them. The present author has observed these quarters in flourishing condition, and stately buildings in them, but now they are in ruins; perhaps they will soon be forgotten, save for a few mosques and gates."

Fortunately, this gloomy prediction was not fulfilled. In 1817 the British seized the city. They restored prosperity by guaranteeing law and order and reducing taxes to the levels that had prevailed under Mughal rule. The skilled population, the merchants and the bankers returned. Once again Ahmadabad became one of the liveliest places in India—and the first to industrialize. Architecture continued to be patronized and now, across the Sabarmati River, Le Corbusier's Villa Shodan can be compared with the works of the nameless architects of Ahmad Shah and his descendants. ◉

In the 1530's, the last sultans of Ahmad Shah's line began construction of the mosque, guest house, [illegible] reservoir of Shah Alam Roza, above. The sultanate fell to the Mughal Empire in 1593, a century after Portuguese traders, seizing the advantage of the new-found route around Cape Horn, took over much of the trade upon which Ahmadabad's economy had depended. Below: Detail of the Tin Darwaza city gate. Opposite: The step-well of Dada Harir Wav, a donation of the noblewoman in charge of Mahmud Shah's children, is part of the larger Bai Harir complex.

Historian and writer Caroline Stone lives in Seville where she teaches for the University of Wisconsin. Her latest book is Mantones de Manila (Manila Shawls).

Free-lance photographer David H. Wells works with the Matrix agency in New York. He is teaching photojournalism this fall at Syracuse University's London center.

KASHMIR is bleeding

By SURINDER SINGH OBEROI

PHOTOS by AMIN WAR

Having covered the uprising in my native Kashmir for eight years, I sometimes cannot believe I have had the good luck to remain alive. Two years ago, a stray bullet ricocheted through my office. Another time while I was covering a student demonstration, I stepped out of my car just as a bullet shattered the rear window. More recently, I was kidnapped.

Last July I was one of 19 journalists traveling in a chartered bus to a press conference in southern Kash-

Once a Shangri-La, Kashmir is now a battlefield.

mir. At Anantnag, about 45 miles south of the Kashmiri capital of Srinagar, we were stopped by a dozen Kashmiri youths armed with AK-47s. They ordered the bus driver to follow them, and at gunpoint we were guided to a private home.

Once inside, we realized we were guests of the Jammu and Kashmir Ikhwan ("Brotherhood"), a counterinsurgent group funded by Indian security. Our captors complained that the local press—who they said was sym-

Surinder Singh Oberoi, who reports from Kashmir for Agence France Presse, was a recent Bulletin *fellow.*

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pathetic to the separatists' cause—had ignored their orders to stop publishing. They told us that *all* coverage of the insurgency must stop.

Six local newsmen were moved to another part of the house and threatened with execution. The rest of us, all members of the national and international press, remained together. Our captors were so confident that their demands would be met that they allowed me to use the telephone to tell my colleagues in the local press that we had been kidnapped.

I called as many people as I could, including newsmen across Kashmir and government officials in Srinagar. I told the director of information for Kashmir that he was personally responsible for our safety, as government-backed militants were holding us hostage.

Anti-India protesters are set upon by police as they try to march to the U.N. observers' offices in Srinagar.

Our captors ordered my group to leave the house; they said their quarrel was with the local media, and we knew that they did not want to risk international condemnation by harming journalists with a beyond-Kashmir audience. But we refused. We would go nowhere unless the local newsmen were also freed.

Only after 10 horrifying hours, during which time we were repeatedly prodded with the barrels of automatic rifles, did pressure from journalists' organizations and orders from New Delhi persuade the Indian army to come to our aid.

When Indian troops surrounded the building, our captors threatened to open fire if the troops took any action. But once the militants realized they were outnumbered, they gave up. Not only was there no gun battle, no one was arrested. Our captors gleefully departed, unlicensed weapons in hand.

Our kidnapping was unusual not because of what happened—government-supported militants seizing members of the press and then walking away unmolested—but only because so many captives were involved. The truth is, kidnappings have become commonplace in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir since Muslim rebels began their most recent campaign against Indian rule in 1989. Over the years, at least 20,000 Kashmiris have perished by official count, and citizens continue to be abducted, tortured, and killed by rebels, the Indian military, and a network of government-backed counterinsurgents.

Paradise found

Kashmir was once a tourists' paradise. It has been known for centuries as the greenest and most temperate spot in the Himalayas—beautiful beyond imagination. Deep blue lakes reflect soaring, snow-capped mountains. Lush forests of fir, pine, and spruce line the banks of rivers born in the high peaks. In past days, Kashmir was the summer refuge of the British raj as well as wealthy Indians escaping the blistering heat of the southern plains.

With the advent of the tourist trade, the region only gained in popularity. Lavish brochures described breathtaking scenery and centuries-old shrines. As recently as 1989, more than half a million Indian and foreign vacationers traveled to Kashmir to drift carefree on houseboats, or to ski, hike, or fish the trout streams. Guides escorted visitors to famous landmarks, including the Mogul gardens of Nishat Bagh, the Mattan temples, Hari Parbath castle, and Pahalgam, the hiker's mecca.

Writer Marie D'Souza compared the region to a diamond whose glitter and sparkle attracts adventurers, scoundrels, fortune-seekers, and romantics. But Kashmir has also been a crossroads for invaders: Afghan, Sikh, and Dogra rulers have all left their imprint.

Kashmir is prized for more than just its natural beauty. Wedged between Pakistan, India, China, and Afghanistan, "greater Kashmir" (including both the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-controlled Azad Kashmir) sits squarely in the middle of a web of disputed borders. The Kashmir valley is the passageway through the Himalayas to the entire subcontinent. From Kashmir flow the Indus, Chenab, and Jhelum rivers, upon which Pakistan depends for water. As India's northernmost territory, the state of Jammu and Kashmir provides a valuable window on the other regional powers, including China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the nearby former Soviet republic of Tajikistan.

A Kashmir primer

The "Kashmir problem" dates back to 1947 and the partition of India and Pakistan. Maharaja Hari Singh, the hereditary ruler of Kashmir, delayed for several months a decision as to which nation Kashmir would join, hoping to achieve independence for his principality. Singh, a Hindu ruling a majority-Muslim population, finally agreed to Indian dominion on October 27, 1947, partly to gain Indian military assistance against an Islamic revolt. Muslim Kashmiris have always challenged the Instrument of Accession; India regards it as final.

In the past 50 years, India and Pak-

istan have fought three wars—two over control of Kashmir. The issue has been on the United Nations docket as long or longer than any other—a U.N. military observer's office has monitored activities at the "line of control," the cease-fire line separating the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan-administered Azad Kashmir, since the end of the first Indian-Pakistani war in 1947. The cease-fire, which gave 65 percent of Kashmir to India, was to be temporary. A plebiscite was supposed to follow, allowing the Kashmiris to decide their future. To date, there has been no plebiscite.

Kashmiris today still want self-determination—which includes the opportunity not only to choose between India and Pakistan, but to opt for independence, which neither of Kashmir's dueling masters finds acceptable. Pakistan favors a solution that implements a 1948 U.N. resolution giving Kashmiris the right to choose between the two countries. India prefers the "Simla agreement," signed in 1971 by Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, which calls for India and Pakistan to resolve the issue bilaterally.

Former Education Minister Abdul Gani Lone, arrested at an anti-election rally.

1992: Journalists protest orders not to report statements by Islamic militants.

Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists

Hopes for a unilateral decision by India to organize a plebiscite have always been wishful thinking. India is not about to allow this strategic northern outpost to simply walk away. The Indian government also has an interest in the state's non-Muslim population, who are far from willing to fall in line behind the idea of Islamic unity.

There are marked ethnic and religious differences among the three regions—Ladakh, Jammu, and Kashmir—that make up the Indian state. Ladakh, across the Himalayan divide, is sometimes called "Little Tibet." It is sparsely populated and 70 percent of its 200,000 residents are Buddhists. To the southeast, in Jammu, the majority of the 3.5 million residents are Hindu, and most of the region is peaceful. However, in Jammu's mountainous Doda district, the population is evenly divided between Muslims and Hindus.

The population in the "Vale of Kashmir" and of the surrounding highlands is predominantly Muslim. It is here, with a population of 4.5 million, as well as in Doda, where violence poisons everyday life. In this mountainous part of the state, Muslim militants hide in well-camouflaged caves. The terrain is ideal for guerrilla warfare; effective patrol is impossible.

The population of Kashmir was once overwhelmingly Hindu. But in the fourteenth century, Kashmiris converted to Islam under the influence of King Ranchan Shah, a ruler from Western Tibet who was influenced by a Sufi saint, Shah Hamdan. More conversions from Hindu to Islam occurred under the influence of another outside ruler, Shah Mir of Swat, an area in western Pakistan.

Hindu influences are still found among the Muslims of Kashmir. Kashmiris sing and chant Koranic verses in a manner similar to Hindu practices. The Sufi influence is strong, too, and many organizations fighting for Kashmir self-rule want to maintain a separate Muslim identity under the name of "Kashmiriyat."

First-time visitors are usually

struck by the appearance of Kashmiris themselves. Fair skin and prominent noses suggest a Semitic origin, but there is no actual evidence for that, only speculation—one theory being that Kashmiris are descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel. Kashmiri is also the only language of India that, like the languages of Iran and Afghanistan, belongs to the Dardic group of central Asian languages.

The rise of the "mujahadeen"

While India and Pakistan wrangled over who, finally, would control the region, many Kashmiris grew tired of living in political limbo. Over the years, calls for a plebiscite were punctuated by short-lived uprisings against Indian rule.

By the 1980s, the Indian national government's interference in local elections had pushed a large portion of the state's Muslim population to the breaking point. In 1982, Farooq Abdullah of the National Conference was elected chief minister following the death of his father, Sheikh Abdullah, who had been the state's first elected leader.

In 1984, Farooq Abdullah was deposed by his brother-in-law, Ghulam Mohammed Shah, who had gained the backing of New Delhi. Before the next election in 1987, the national government decided to re-install Farooq Abdullah, and Shah was dumped as the candidate of the National Conference. The move continued a long-running policy of political destabilization that has prevented any Kashmiri leader from building a strong power base, and which has kept potential chief ministers beholden to New Delhi.

Abdullah was elected to another term in polling that most Kashmiris believe was rigged. After the elections, several leaders of the Muslim United Front, which was formed to oppose the National Conference, were jailed for three to four months for accusing the authorities of vote fraud. Upon their release, many fled to Azad Kashmir in Pakistan, where they formed organizations from which the guerrilla forces first sprang, and where many groups maintain headquarters today. These political rivals of India's ruling party were armed by Pakistan and later joined by Afghan war veterans.

The uprising began in July 1989, when bombs exploded at three sites in Srinagar. Sporadic fighting broke out in the months that followed, but it was not until December that the revolt heated up. In December, the daughter of the Indian Home Minister, a Kashmiri, was kidnapped by separatists in Srinagar. In exchange for her safe return, five hard-core pro-independence militants were freed from Indian jails. Anti-government and anti-India rallies broke out all over Kashmir, celebrating victory. The ranks of the Islamic militants swelled.

Within weeks, combat ripped across the Vale. In a region that had previously known little armed violence, the new Afghan-Pakistan connection poured in guns, rocket launchers, and grenades. Kashmiri boys—identifying themselves as "mujahadeen" and armed with automatic rifles—launched a *jihad* (holy war) for control of the only Muslim-majority state in India. The gun culture had come to Kashmir.

New Delhi reacted by appointing a hard-line governor to put down the revolt. Protesting the move as too extreme, Chief Minister Abdullah resigned, and the federal government assumed direct control. Many of the leaders of the National Conference quit the party, largely to take themselves off hit lists compiled by separatist guerrillas.

The Indian military deployed five divisions—at least 250,000 men, including 1,500 companies of paramilitary and state police, who engaged in counterinsurgency.

On the other side of the line of control, Pakistan deployed an equal number of army divisions. Heavy artillery pieces on both sides of the border were wheeled into place.

Border skirmishes became common—nearly 2,000 exchanges of fire took place in 1995. At the Siachin glacier, where the temperature remains below freezing all year, a pitched battle, the continuing occupation by the two armies, and supply drops by helicopter have despoiled the once-pristine environment.

Efforts to re-start Indian-Pakistani negotiations have failed, and both countries have planted thousands of land mines at border crossings. As a result, hundreds of civilians living in border villages have died or been crippled. Both armies have taken over border villages; villagers are used as unpaid laborers by the troops of both countries; and civilian entry to the villages is by identity card or special permission only.

A common sight: Kashmiri civilian killed in the crossfire.

In the first year of the uprising, property was destroyed, schools and bridges turned to rubble, and killing became the commerce of everyday life throughout Kashmir. The streets and neighborhoods of Kashmir are battlegrounds upon which the rebellion plays out.

The tourists' paradise has new

landmarks—with names like "martyrs' graveyard" or "site of a major massacre." Streets and neighborhoods now bear the names of those killed fighting Indian troops. Luxury hotels have been turned into barracks; gun-toting Indian soldiers in battle gear man sandbagged bunkers at nearly all major road intersections and important installations; most of the government-owned eateries that once dotted the countryside have been torched.

The tourists' paradise has new landmarks—with names like "martyrs' graveyard" or "site of a major massacre."

The once-flourishing tourist trade is in shambles. The conflict is not limited to armed combatants, and recent incidents have specifically targeted the few vacationers who have come to Kashmir. Last summer, six Indian tourists were killed at Lake Dal, allegedly by Muslim militants. In a case that drew international attention, six Western hikers were kidnapped by the insurgent group Al Faran in the first week of July 1995. One of the captives, an American, escaped; another, a Norwegian, was beheaded by his captors in August 1995. The remaining four are presumed dead.

Internationalizing the conflict

The Indian government alleges that Pakistan, with calls for Islamic unity, is recruiting Muslim mercenaries; Pakistan has denied the charge, saying that other Muslims feel it is their moral duty to help Kashmiri Muslims. Already, hundreds of foreign mercenaries have joined the Kashmiri cause. Exact numbers are impossible to come by, but at least 200 foreign fighters have already been killed in assorted gun battles, and at least 60 foreigners are in Indian jails. The majority are from Afghanistan and Pakistan, but there are scattered fighters from Sudan, Libya, Chechnya, Iran, and other Islamic countries.

Indian army officers say that the Afghanis, who are veterans of guerrilla warfare and carry more arms and ammunition, are more formidable foes than other militants.

Many Indians believe that if Pakistan would stop the flow of arms and money, the separatist movement would die out in days. Guerrilla leaders admit privately that they rely on financial aid and arms from Pakistan, but they deny that the movement would fail without Pakistani support.

"Our boys are dying for the better future of Kashmir, and we are not that fool who will dance to others' tunes. We are holding the gun with full consciousness and will continue to fight till we achieve our goal of freedom," Majid Jehangir, divisional commander of the insurgent group Hizbul Mujahadeen, told me in a recent interview.

Kashmir's Muslim militants have tried to "internationalize" the Kashmir issue; in addition to kidnappings, they have relied on sieges at Kashmir's most revered and famous holy shrines to generate attention and sympathy for their cause.

In October 1994, two dozen Kashmiri militants occupied the famous marble Hazratbal ("Home of the Prophet") Shrine in Srinagar, believed to house a strand of the Prophet Mohammed's beard. The militants even threatened to blow up the building, and the local population took to the streets, demanding that security troops, who had ringed the shrine, be withdrawn. More than 50 demonstrators were killed by the paramilitary Border Security Forces when they tried to march on the shrine in a show of support for the militants. The siege lasted a month, after which the militants surrendered; they were soon released by local police.

Another siege occurred in 1995, when militants and their followers occupied the shrine in Chrar-Sharief. Indian troops cordoned off the town,

Two women sit amid the ashes of their homes in Chrar-Sharief.

and on May 7, in the midst of gun battles, fire broke out. Before it could be contained, 700 structures were gutted and the seventeenth-century carved-wood shrine was destroyed. Yet all of the militants, including a number of foreign mercenaries, escaped. In all, 30 people were killed—some by bullets, some by fire.

Then in March 1996, militants again took control of the Hazratbal Shrine. This time, a gun battle took place in which a police officer was killed. But as they had done in the first occupa-

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tion of Hazratbal, the militants negotiated a surrender to be followed by a quick release. They were allowed to exit the shrine still in possession of their weapons and assemble at their headquarters in a nearby building.

It was commonly believed that the group had recently worked out a deal with New Delhi, and that they had switched sides and were fighting against the independence movement. But during the siege, authorities began to worry that the group was going to change sides again and support Pakistan. Two days after their surrender, 30 militants were rounded up and executed. In their official statement to the press, the police said that the militants "were killed in an exchange of fire when they again tried to take control of the shrine." But off the record, one senior police official said of those who were killed: "They doublecrossed [us] and so they deserved it."

Cats and mice

Human rights organizations have highlighted incidents in which troops have wantonly killed militants or their sympathizers. In fact, Amnesty International has stated that "torture by security forces is a daily routine and so brutal that hundreds have died as a result." Amnesty warns that "the entire civilian population is at risk. Torture includes beatings and electric shocks, hanging people upside down for many hours, crushing their legs with heavy rollers, and burning parts of their bodies."

Last spring, attorney and human rights activist Jalil Andrabi was taken from his car, allegedly by a counterinsurgent group with ties to Indian security troops. His body was found floating in the Jhelum River two weeks later.

Also last year, the police reported that a most-wanted militant, Hilal Beg, and his brother-in-law, Naim Khan, were killed in an "encounter" with security troops on the outskirts of Srinagar. But Beg's wife said that security troops had actually arrested the two while they were at home the previous evening. Family members say that tales of encounters are fabrications used to conceal the fact that militants have been tortured and killed in cold blood.

Three big ifs

Hanging over the prospects for a peaceful solution in Kashmir are a series of "ifs." *If* India were willing to negotiate with the separatists, *if* Muslim militants would accept something less than complete independence, and *if* Pakistan would stop funding the insurgents, peace would be possible. I believe these conditions could be met, if only one of the parties would make the first move.

A vital step would be for the three parties—India, Pakistan, and Kashmir—to freeze the issue of Kashmiri autonomy for five years, similar to the cooling-off period agreed to by Russia and Chechnya. An immediate cease-fire could be observed by all forces operating in Kashmir, and the line of control could be demilitarized. Once the situation at the border quieted, the line could be opened so that Kashmiris could cross between the Indian state and the Pakistani province without fear of ambush or harassment. India has a precedent for this kind of demilitarization: A long-running territorial dispute with China over a portion of eastern Jammu and Kashmir was defused by a similar strategy.

Muslim militants and the All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) would need to become actively involved in the political process. The unified political front would have to have concrete positions and a clearly defined role inside Jammu and Kashmir. Asking for self-determination is a vague request; the political parties would have to clarify their demands and prove that they could mobilize mass support without resorting to violence.

During the cooling-off period, India and the APHC could enter into negotiations aimed at creating stable conditions in which economic development, education, business, and tourism could proceed and bloodshed could end. A five-year timetable would allow the two parties to slowly build trust between them, and alleviate any pressure to devise an immediate solution.

At the same time, talks could take place between India and Pakistan about the fate of Kashmir. Clearly, no permanent solution could be reached without including Pakistan, as both countries are knee-deep in the Kashmir problem. Once India and Pakistan begin to meet, they could ask for participation by the genuine representatives—Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist—of the troubled state. It is at this point that expanded autonomy for Indian-administered Kashmir (with India maintaining control of defense, currency, and telecommunications) could be discussed and elections, overseen by international monitors, could be planned.

Three caveats: First, fundamentalist influences—whether Hindutava or Islamic fundamentalism—must be jointly discouraged from clouding negotiations on Kashmir's future. Second, the task should not be left only to politicians, but should draw upon a cross section of Kashmiris, including academics and businesspeople.

Finally, all parties must realize that human rights abuses lie at the root of much of the resentment that has fueled the conflict. No just and lasting settlement can be achieved unless the abuses are ended and those responsible brought to justice.

India and Pakistan must begin this process on their own; the United States is monitoring the Kashmir situation but is not interested in interfering. Past visits by American officials have raised the hopes of Kashmiris who expect wonders from Americans, but most Americans are not concerned about Kashmir. Officially, Washington doesn't want to take sides; unofficially the United States is trying to apply pressure on India and Pakistan to start negotiations.

—*S. S. O.*

One common way of rounding up suspected "sympathizers" is a dangerous game of "cat and mouse." The "cats," as they are known in local jargon, are informers—captured militants whom the Indian security troops use against their former comrades in arms. The mice are any Kashmiris suspected of taking part in the insurgency.

I have been forced to play this game on three occasions. A "crackdown" or cordon-and-search operation starts before sunrise. A neighborhood is sealed off and the residents awakened by the sound of a loudspeaker: "This neighborhood is under a cordon-and-search operation. All adult males must come out of their houses and assemble in the square." Sleepy-eyed, hurriedly looking for my slippers and in my nightclothes, I join the ever-increasing queue of men being herded near the burned-down cinema. My press card is of no help.

The assembled crowd grows silent. I see people reciting verses from the Holy Koran as the fear that they may be arrested increases. Those who have been assembled are made to parade one by one past a half-dozen vehicles with tinted glass windows, behind which sit shadowy militants-turned-informers making identifications. On one occasion, three teenagers were arrested in front of me and taken to an unknown destination.

The neighborhood is sealed by heavily armed Indian soldiers wearing flak jackets who search house-to-house for weapons and hidden militants. These crackdowns, in which nearly every Kashmiri male between the ages of 15 and 35 has been paraded at least once in front of the dreaded cats, have on occasion turned into gun battles. At least four to six cordon-and-search operations take place every day.

While government troops and their agents have been cited in the majority of the atrocities committed in Kashmir, the Muslim insurgents are also guilty of attacks against non-military targets.

The Hindu Pandits—a self-described high-caste group to which Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru belonged—were an early target of the insurgents. In 1990, a dozen members of the sect, all of whom held important government posts, were killed by militants in separate incidents. After their deaths, the remaining Kashmiri Pandits fled. Most have resettled in various areas of India.

As a relatively educated group, most Pandits have been able to adjust to life in other Indian states, although their cultural identity diminishes with every passing year. One Kashmiri Hindu scholar told me, "The Kashmiri Pandits have lost nothing except their homes; we have been able to protect our education and intelligentsia. The Kashmiri Muslims on the other hand have lost their education, their intelligentsia, and their leaders—by the gun."

Wreathed in flowers, Abdullah celebrates election victory.

And yet, Srinagar booms

No one can fully fathom the trauma to the 8 million Kashmiris, living for years now with gunfights between warring militant groups or between insurgents and counterinsurgent forces an everyday occurrence. A new generation is being brought up in the shadow of the gun, deprived of a normal social life, and often of education. More than 1,000 school buildings have been set ablaze; all the sports stadiums are closed.

Strangely, however, people have become acclimated to living under siege. Searches, torture, and harassment are routine. The people have seemingly grown numb, and so there are fewer complaints now than there were in the early days. The government in New Delhi takes this as a sign of normalcy, but it is not.

Despite the violence across Kashmir, the state is experiencing a peculiar economic boom. There are no shortages—all the department stores are full of goods. You will find no Kashmiris who are homeless or dying of hunger.

The explanation is that a great deal of money is being pumped into the Kashmir valley. Pakistan supplies money to the 30-odd militant and political organizations. Meanwhile, India supports a half-dozen militant-turned-renegade groups to counter the insurgents. And some 250,000 soldiers are permanent tourists who buy nearly everything locally. By giving business to locals, the security troops make useful contacts and have more sources of information.

All the money that is coming in is used directly or indirectly by Kashmiris. Before the uprising, a merchant who wanted to operate in a busy commercial center like Lal-chowk ("Red Square") in Srinagar had to pay a premium of $30,000 for the right to open a shop. Now that figure is close to $60,000. In a battle-ravaged state, one would expect rates to come down. But that is not the case.

People no longer pay their electricity or water bills. By order of the militants, they no longer pay taxes, either. The entire Kashmiri economy now depends on the presence of soldiers, insurgents, and counterinsurgents to support the people. Farming, construction, and education—the building blocks of everyday life—have all been disrupted. Thousands of Kashmiris risk growing up with no skills other than fighting.

"Sham" elections

Almost a decade after the last elections in Kashmir, the Indian government held much-publicized elections in September 1996. Designed to bring peace to the turbulent valley, the elections created only more confusion and more killings. The elections became something of a farce in which, by manipulation, the Indian government was once more able to impose its chosen government. While claiming it was restoring the democratic process

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India rejected all requests of foreign observers to monitor the elections.

New Delhi hopes that the new administration will be able to bring peace, but since the installation of the state government and its chief minister, Farooq Abdullah, Kashmiri Hindus have been selling their properties in Kashmir. Abdullah is the same man whose earlier term as chief minister ended abruptly in 1990, when he resigned under pressure from the central government following the outbreak of the Muslim uprising. His return to power was supposed to provide more moderate Kashmiris with a political alternative to violence, but so far Abdullah has not been able to reduce the level of security troops. In fact, he recently asked for more.

There are fewer complaints than in the early days. New Delhi takes this as a sign of normalcy, but it is not.

Those fighting for Kashmiri independence called the elections a sham. The All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC), an association of 30 pro-independence and pro-Pakistan parties, boycotted the elections to protest the lack of international oversight of the polling, and the absence of a referendum on self-determination. The group launched an anti-election campaign in which they urged Kashmiris to stay away from the polls.

As a result of these efforts, the leaders of the APHC were jailed in the weeks leading up to the elections. In sympathy, a general strike was observed on voting days, which idled the valley. Anyone who stood for office was declared a traitor by the mujahadeen, who passed death sentences on the candidates "according to Islamic law." Both the guerrillas and the counterinsurgents made veiled threats of violence against anyone who voted, or did not vote, respectively.

In spite of stepped-up security arrangements, the Muslim militants attacked several polling places. And in the border town of Kargil, Indian troops were forced to relocate polling stations because of continuous shelling by Pakistani forces. In all, more than three dozen election-related deaths—close relatives of candidates, supporters of candidates, or agents working for candidates—were reported in the weeks immediately before and after the election.

With the elections over, government buildings are once again targets. The guerrillas regard the formation of the new government as yet another challenge, and they have vowed to intensify their attacks on security installations.

In late October, two drivers were killed and several cars damaged in a car bomb attack on the main gate of the five-story legislative hostel, where many members of the state assembly live. In spite of a three-tier security system, militants had managed to sneak in and install the device. The bombing occurred only hours after Abdullah delivered an ultimatum giving the militants 30 days to surrender.

The chief minister has become a magnet for assassination attempts. There have been three separate incidents since the election. In the first, a bomb was triggered before he arrived at a public rally, killing five people. In December, Abdullah was en route to a ceremony at the grave of his father when another blast created a panic in the waiting crowd. Then in January, while Abdullah was on a pilgrimage to Mecca, a massive explosion outside of his home killed four and injured a dozen others. Occurring in one of the most heavily fortified neighborhoods in Srinagar, the blast sent a signal that no place in Kashmir was beyond the insurgents' reach.

Local police are now more likely than ever to be targets. They are sandwiched between warring militant groups and the new administration, which wants to energize them to take action against the militants. But the rebels, by killing local cops, are sending a warning not to cooperate.

Local police are caught in a deadly bind. Many are assumed by government officers—who come from other parts of India—to be sympathetic to

The game of cat and mouse: In a cordon-and-search operation, men are paraded before informants who sit in military vehicles, their identities concealed behind tinted glass.

the separatists' cause. If the police pursue the insurgents, they open themselves up to attack by their neighbors. If they are lackadaisical in their efforts, they risk being openly branded a "sympathizer" by security troops. Either way, they know that they are not only exposing themselves to danger, they are jeopardizing the safety of their families as well.

Despite the continuance of violence, the Indian government calls the recent elections a "victory of the ballot over the bullet." But the elections have done nothing to solve the Kashmir problem. The assembly members have no contact with the locals, and they have done nothing to provide jobs or peace for Kashmir. With no plan for addressing the real needs of the people of Kashmir, the new government will probably fail even sooner than the one before it.

Roadblocks to a solution

For all of its efforts—from ballot-stuffing to games of cat-and-mouse—the Indian government has been unable to put an end to the uprising in the troubled state. At the same time, militant Muslims have yet to score the kind of major victory that would force the Indian government to withdraw from—or negotiate the future of—Kashmir.

And what would that future be? Polls show that more than half of all Kashmiri Muslims would prefer to live in an independent state rather than place themselves under Pakistani rule. Yet in Hindu-dominated Jammu and in Buddhist-dominated Ladakh, the rebel movement is nearly invisible. The inhabitants of these areas want to continue to live under Indian rule. Only in the Kashmir valley and parts of the Doda district in Jammu, where about 65 percent of the total population lives, does unrest continue.

Certainly the question of Kashmiri independence weighs heavily on Pakistan. It would be naive to think that Pakistan would supply weapons and money to create a new, independent state on its northern border—even if it were a Muslim nation. Since the partition of the region in 1947, Pakistan has sought to annex Kashmir as *its* northernmost state.

The continuation of a low-level proxy war guarantees to both Pakistan and India that the question of Kashmiri independence will be kept on the back burner. Pakistan's continued support of Muslim insurgents creates an ongoing thorn in the side of India, while potentially swaying Kashmiris to the possibility of someday joining Pakistan.

For India, relenting on the question of Kashmiri independence would invite dissent from other Indian states who are watching developments in Kashmir. There is already unrest in the northeast states and in Punjab; India would not dare to stir up more trouble in these regions, and hence it will always try to linger on the Kashmir issue on one pretext or another. And so the two regional powers continue to send guns to the still-lovely Vale of Kashmir, where factional strife has made the development of a unified Kashmiri voice seem more and more difficult. ■

Mourning the loss of her husband, a woman is restrained from rending her face by family members.

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